

The University of Chicago

GEOGRAPHICAL ALLUSION IN
ATTIC TRAGEDY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1938

By
SAM LEE GREENWOOD

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PREFACE

Aside from incidental notes and scattered articles there is no treatment of the knowledge and use of geography of any Greek poet except Homer. Even so comprehensive a work as that of Bunbury devotes a scant five pages to the geography of the tragedians. The following study of the rich store of geographical allusion in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides is the outgrowth of a suggestion of the late Professor Paul Shorey. It was originally intended to include topography along with geography, but the former topic has since been adequately dealt with by Professor Walter Miller in Daedalus and Thespis (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929-32). I am greatly indebted to Professor Robert J. Bonner and to Professor Gertrude Smith for much valuable assistance in developing Professor Shorey's suggestion.

The references are to the latest Oxford texts of the tragedies. The numbering of Smyth ("Loeb Classical Library") is used for the fragments of Aeschylus, that of Pearson for those of Sophocles, that of Nauck for Euripides, and of Edmonds ("Loeb Classical Library") for the elegiac and lyric poets. The translations quoted are substantially those of the Loeb texts, occasionally modified slightly for the sake of greater exactness.



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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE BEFORE 500 B. C.¹

In the following brief account of pre-Aeschylean geography no attempt has been made at originality or exhaustiveness. The purpose is merely to give a general, but adequate, background for considering the geographical knowledge of the dramatists.

Early Cosmology

Homer pictured the earth as a circular plane surrounded by "back-flowing Ocean," the parent of all seas, rivers, and fountains.² His conception of the sky seems to have been a dome of bronze³ or iron⁴ supported by mighty pillars in charge of Atlas.⁵ Nowhere, however, does he identify Atlas with the range of mountains in northwestern Africa, or, in fact, give any indication of the location of these pillars. The sun rose from the ocean stream in the East and sank into it again in the West,⁶ as did also the dawn,⁷ but as to how they made the return journey he gives no hint. Mimnermus⁸ is the first to present the idea of the sun's nocturnal voyage along Ocean Stream in a golden bowl, but it is unlikely that he regarded the pretty concept as scientific fact. Most of the stars followed a course similar to that of the sun, but Homer had observed that the Great Bear "keeps turning round in the same place and has no share in the baths of

¹The modern literature on the subject of ancient geography is not large. The best treatment in English is Sir E. H. Bunbury, History of Ancient Geography (2 vols., 2d ed.; London: John Murray, 1883); in German there is Ernst Hugo Berger, Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen (Leipzig: Veit & Comp., 1903); less pretentious are H. F. Tozer, History of Ancient Geography (2d ed. with additional notes by M. Cary; Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1935); Eric H. Warmington, Greek Geography (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1934); and H. E. Burton, The Discovery of the Ancient World (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932).

²Iliad xxi. 195-97.

³Ibid. v. 504; xvii. 425; Odyssey iii. 2.

⁴Ibid. xv. 329.

⁵Ibid. i. 54.

⁶Iliad vii. 421; viii. 485; Odyssey xix. 433; etc.

⁷Iliad xix. 1.

⁸Mimnermus 8.

Ocean."¹

Like Homer, Hesiod speaks of "back-flowing Ocean,"² and apparently believed that this Ocean Stream surrounded the earth, and that the Argo sailed up the Phasis into Ocean and thence to Libya, whence the Argonauts carried it across the desert to the Mediterranean.³ The Hesiodic Ocean Stream not only contained islands, but had a farther shore,⁴ for Geryon dwelt in the island of Erythea across the stream of Ocean,⁵ and the Hesperides guarded the golden apples "beyond the waters of Ocean."⁶ And in the Theogony Atlas is located at the farthest limits of the earth, in front of the Hesperides, "supporting the heavens with his head and unwearied hands."⁷

During the sixth century there was much philosophical speculation concerning the nature of the earth and its place in the universe, but the writings of the philosophers have perished--indeed, it is improbable that Thales left any writings--and the statements of later writers are not always to be trusted. Many of the ideas and inventions attributed to these early cosmologists were almost certainly developed later by their followers or admirers.

Thales is said by Herodotus to have predicted the eclipse of the sun which occurred in 585 B. C.⁸ Later writers give him credit for explaining the causes of both lunar and solar eclipses,⁹ for having first divided the earth into five zones and having traced the oblique line of the zodiac,¹⁰ and finally for having known that the earth was spherical.¹¹ Anaximander is credited with having invented the gnomon and having made the first map, thus somewhat redeeming himself for having maintained that the

¹Odyssey v. 273.

²Hesiod Theogony 776.

³Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica iv. 259, 284.

⁴The Homeric Ocean seems to have a farther shore. Cf. Odyssey x. 508; xi. 13.

⁵Hesiod Theogony 287-94.

⁶Ibid. 215.

⁷Ibid. 517.

⁸Herodotus i. 74.

⁹Plutarch De placit. philosoph. ii. 24.

¹⁰Ibid. ii. 12.

¹¹But for the idea that Thales thought the earth a plane surface, cf. ibid. iii. 15; Aristotle De coelo ii. 13. 7; Seneca Nat. quaest. iii. 13. "The first philosophers of whom we can say with certainty that they taught that the earth was a globe were Pythagoreans" (Tozer, op. cit., p. 60).

earth was cylindrical. Others of these cosmologists speculated concerning the movements of the heavenly bodies. Pythagoras and his followers brought forth a cosmic theory not far from the truth. They displaced the earth as the cosmic center and believed that it, together with the sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars, revolved about a central fire.

Early Descriptive Geography

It was formerly believed that the Phoenicians were the earliest explorers of the Mediterranean. This theory was largely based on the accepted derivation of numerous place-names in the Aegean region from Semitic roots,¹ the linguistic evidence being considered as proof that the Phoenicians were the original settlers in these localities. But since the opening of the present century knowledge of early Mediterranean civilization has been greatly increased by archaeological discovery, notably by that of Sir Arthur Evans in Crete, and as a result the former theory of Phoenician priority has been largely abandoned. It now appears that the Phoenicians were only carrying on what the Cretans had already begun.

As has so often been the case, archaeological discovery again serves to verify a previously discredited statement of an ancient writer, and Thucydides' assertion that King Minos of Cnossus was the first to control the Hellenic sea² is now pretty well established as fact. For the evidence shows that as early as 3000 B. C. there was intercourse between Egypt and Crete, and that not more than five hundred years later Cretan sailors were venturing into the western Mediterranean as far as Sicily, perhaps as far as Spain.³

During the second millennium the Aryans invaded Greece and established cities of their own, thus considerably weakening the power of the Cretans, who, by the end of the millennium, seem to have desisted from their maritime enterprises and to have left further exploration and settlement to the Phoenicians. The latter apparently penetrated nearly all sections of the Aegean, advanced

¹Cf. *ibid.*, p. 5.

²Thucydides i. 4.

³For an account of Minoan maritime activity, cf. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Cnossus* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1921-1935), Vol. I, secs. 35, 39, and 42; also G. Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925), Book II, chaps. 11 and v.

along the shore of Africa, where Utica is said to have been founded by them in 1001 B. C.,¹ and established settlements on all three coasts of Sicily.² Though there is no archaeological evidence that there were Phoenician settlements in Spain prior to the eighth century, the mention of Tartessus in connection with King Solomon³ indicates that by the year 1000 B. C. Tyrian sailors had advanced beyond the straits of Gibraltar.

How much of the geographical knowledge amassed by the Phoenicians was passed on to the Greeks is not known. The Greeks adopted the Phoenician alphabet about 800 B. C., and it is perhaps justifiable to assume that they learned something of Phoenician discoveries at about the same time. But, though the fantastic tales of Phoenician origin which Herodotus tells⁴ probably had their origin in folklore or in sailors' stories, there is at least a possibility that the Phoenicians jealously kept secret their geographical knowledge and, in order to discourage competition in their commercial enterprises, circulated terrifying tales of fearful dangers to be encountered by sailors who ventured too far from home.

The Greeks were ever a curious and adventuring people and their natural bent for exploration and travel was encouraged by the very nature and situation of their country. The eastern coast has abundant harbors and the Aegean with its islands, so thickly strewn that the sailor need never be out of sight of land, must have been always tempting them to go a little farther. And so it is not surprising to find evidence of their very early voyaging. Homer implies⁵ that the story of the Argonautic expedition was well known. But we can safely draw no conclusions from the Odyssey as to what was the then current version of the story, further than that the expedition possibly sailed into the Euxine.⁶

Any consideration of the descriptive geography of the

¹Pliny Nat. hist. xvi. 216.

²Thucydides vi. 2.

³I Kings 10:22.

⁴E. g., the winged serpents guarding the frankincense trees (Herodotus iii. 107), and the method of securing cinnamon (p. 111).

⁵Odyssey xii. 70.

⁶For the growth of the Argonautic legend, cf. Janet Ruth Bacon, The Voyage of the Argonauts (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1925). For its historical basis, cf. A. R. Burn, Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1930), chap. ix.

Iliad and the Odyssey makes evident the essential soundness of Eratosthenes' statement that "even Homer and the poets of long ago had accurate ideas concerning Greece, but concerning the places far away they were extremely ignorant,"¹ for subsequent investigation has shown that the Homeric poems give evidence of the author's generally correct conception of Aegean geography, but that this conception becomes increasingly less correct as the story takes him farther from the familiar Aegean, until the wanderings of Odysseus become so fantastic that no scholastic ingenuity has succeeded in satisfactorily fitting them to the actual map of the Mediterranean. Consequently most modern scholars have found it convenient to consider Homeric geography under two heads, Inner Geography and Outer Geography.

Homer had no name for what is now known as Greece, his "Hellas" being merely a part of Thessaly, and the Greeks as a whole being indifferently referred to as Achaeans, Danaans, or Argives; nor, though the Catalog of Ships contains the names of many tribes and rulers, does he tell much about the location of these tribes. When he does locate or describe places in Greece, he is usually correct and often impressively vivid. The ruins of "well-walled Tiryns"² are still to be seen, and the modern traveler looks upon a Lacedaemon that is "hollow" and "full of clefts."³ He seems to be no less familiar with Troy and northwestern Asia Minor with its adjacent islands. It was more than a vague knowledge that made him select Samothrace as a vantage-point from which Poseidon viewed the conflict.⁴

But his ideas of more remote regions range from the hazy and vague to the fantastic and miraculous. Inasmuch as he calls the Achelous the greatest of rivers,⁵ he must not have known of the Ister or the great rivers emptying into the Euxine--in fact, the Euxine itself is never mentioned--and if by the Aegyptus⁶ he means the Nile, he must have had a very imperfect conception of its size. Nor is there any mention of the Halys River, and from the regions beyond it we hear only of the Paphlagonians⁷ and the Halizones,⁸ the great kingdoms of Babylon and Assyria getting no

¹Strabo vii. 3. 6.

³Ibid. ii. 581; Odyssey iv. 1.

⁵Ibid. xxi. 194.

⁷Iliad ii. 851.

²Iliad ii. 559.

⁴Iliad xiii. 10.

⁶Odyssey iv. 477.

⁸Ibid. ii. 856.

notice whatever. The Mysians, the Hippomolgi, and the Abii¹ are listed, but it is from later writers that we learn that they dwelt near the Euxine. Sidon was the source of embroidered robes which Paris brought to Hecuba;² Egyptian Thebes was an exceedingly rich city of a hundred gates;³ and the island of Pharos was a full day's journey from the mainland.⁴ Apparently rumors of dark-skinned inhabitants of Africa had reached Homer, for he locates the Aethiopians far beyond Thebes on the borders of Ocean,⁵ and by dividing them into eastern and western Aethiopians⁶ he anticipates Herodotus.⁷ His reference to the pygmies⁸ is a possible indication that the Greeks had heard of these undersized Africans, later described by Herodotus⁹ and Aristotle¹⁰ and whose actual existence is attested by modern explorers. But their battle with the cranes is surely pure folk tale.

Even western Greece is not distinct in Homer's mind. "Low-lying"¹¹ is certainly not applicable to the island now known as Thiaki--in fact Homer's description is so generally inapplicable to the modern Thiaki that many modern scholars have accepted the theory of Dörpfeld which identifies the Homeric Ithaca and the modern Leucas.¹²

The whole question of Odysseus' wanderings is so large as to permit only the briefest mention here.¹³ Though early tradition had associated most of these enthralling experiences with certain localities in the western Mediterranean, there is no indication in the text of the Odyssey that the writer had in mind

¹Ibid. xiii. 4-6.

²Ibid. vi. 289.

³Ibid. ix. 381.

⁴Odyssey iv. 354.

⁵Iliad. i. 423; xxiii. 206.

⁶Odyssey i. 23.

⁷Herodotus vii. 69, 70.

⁸Iliad iii. 3.

⁹Herodotus ii. 32.

¹⁰Hist. animal. viii. 12. 2.

¹¹Odyssey ix. 25.

¹²For a good digest of the vast literature on the subject, with selected bibliography, cf. Alexander Shewan, "Ithaca-Leucas," JHS, XXXIV (1914), 227-41. Even so careful a writer as Thucydides (iv. 8) describes Sphacteria so inaccurately that modern scholars are convinced that he never visited the site. Cf. G. B. Grundy, "The Region of Pylos and Sphacteria," JHS, XVI (1896), 21 ff; also Thucydides and the History of His Age (London: John Murray, 1911), pp. 24 ff.

¹³For a complete study of the whole matter, cf. Victor Bérard, Les Navigations d'Ulysse (Paris: Armand Colin, 1927-28), Vol. IV.

these traditional places. In fact the opposite is often the case. For example, the traditional abode of Aeolus was one of the Lipari Islands, and yet Homer says that Odysseus sailed from there with a west wind in a direct course for Ithaca,¹ in spite of the intervening peninsula of Italy with the not inconsiderable height of the Calabrian Mountains.

After Odysseus leaves Aegean waters there are only two of his adventures in which there can possibly be an underlying basis of geographical fact. From Cape Malea he was driven for nine days over the sea to the land of the Lotus-eaters.² Polybius describes the lotus and its berries³ and says it grows on the shore of Libya, where Odysseus might well have arrived after his nine-day voyage, and it is possible that Homer had heard tales of this land and its delicious fruit. And as a basis for the story of Scylla and Charybdis he may have used true or exaggerated tales of the swift currents and whirlpools of the Straits of Messina.⁴ But, as Bunbury says, "in the very few cases in which it is probable that some slender basis of fact did really underlie the fictions that he presents to us, it is clear that any such notices were accompanied by no definite indications of locality, and there is no reason to suppose that Homer attached any more correct geographical notions to the one set of legends than to the other."⁵

The Homeric Greeks may have had a hazy and confused idea of the long summer days and winter nights of the far North, for the land of the Laestrygonians is described as a place where a sleepless man might earn a double wage, "so near are the outgoings of day and night."⁶ Tales of the North had perhaps been brought back by the traders in amber and tin, both of which substances

¹Odyssey x. 25-30. ²Ibid. ix. 94. ³Polybius xii. 2.

⁴Thucydides (iv. 24-25) unquestioningly accepts the Straits of Messina as the traditional Scylla and Charybdis and gives reasons for the swift current.

⁵Op. cit., p. 67. Cf. Eratosthenes (quoted by Strabo i. 2. 14): "Homer neither knew these matters [the geography of the western Mediterranean] nor meant to make Odysseus' wanderings take place in known regions." For the opposite view, cf. Bérard, op. cit., Vol. IV, passim.

⁶Odyssey x. 82. The meaning of the passage is not clear. For conflicting interpretations cf. Bunbury, op. cit., p. 77, n. D, and Tozer, op. cit., p. 30.

are mentioned by Homer.¹ Amber has also been found at Mycenae. Though tin is found in the Malay Peninsula, the only sources known to the ancients were Spain and Britain,² while chemical analysis of the Mycenaean amber has shown that it is from the Baltic and not from the less important Ligurian and Sicilian sources. There are numerous conjectures as to the routes by which these substances reached Greece,³ but their possession by Homeric Greeks is indisputable proof of the early existence of some trade route between northern Europe and the Mediterranean.

During the centuries between Homer and Aeschylus the Greeks of course grew increasingly familiar with each other and with their neighbors in the Aegean region, but there was a still greater increase in their knowledge of the more remote parts of the world.

Beginning at an unknown date and continuing into the sixth century was the era of Greek expansion and colonization. Prompted partly by trading interests and partly by that same spirit of adventure which had previously found immortal expression in the story of the Argonautic Expedition and in the Odyssey, Greek traders and colonists ventured into all parts of the Mediterranean, and Greek towns and trading-posts sprang up along all the coasts from the Caucasus to the Pillars of Hercules. By the middle of the sixth century Milesian and Megarian settlements dotted the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine; Corinthians had established themselves in Corcyra; and Euboean, Achaean, and Dorian towns and trading-posts were along the Italian and Sicilian coasts. These colonies always maintained close relations with the mother-cities in Greece, and interest in geography must have been given a tremendous impetus by the sailors' tales not only of the colonies but of still more remote places visited by Greek and colonial merchant ships.

Unfortunately the written records of these centuries are scanty. The very nature of the work of Hesiod is not such as

¹Amber, Odyssey xv. 460; xviii. 296; tin, Iliad xviii. 564.

²Cf. Pliny Nat. hist. xxxiv. 156; Strabo iii. 2. 9; Diodorus v. 38. 4, 5.

³For details concerning the trade in tin and amber and various theories as to the routes by which they may have been brought to the Mediterranean, cf. Bunbury, op. cit., pp. 9-15, and Tozer, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

often to lead the author to speak of the distant parts of the world, and yet these writings do contain several pertinent allusions. In the famous catalog of rivers¹ we find the names of the Phasis, the Ister, the Nile, and the Eridanus, rivers not mentioned in Homer and perhaps mere names to Hesiod. Strabo says that Hesiod was acquainted with the names of Sicily, Italy, Etna, Ortygia, and Syracuse.² There is also mention of the Aethiopians, the Ligurians, the mare-milking Scythians,³ and the Tuscans,⁴ but there is no indication as to what idea, if any, he had of their location.

The age of the lyric and elegiac poets was also the age of literary patronage, and the movements of the poets from court to court are to some extent reflected in their poetry. Especially do the lyric poets like to reflect their own experiences.⁵ But the very brief fragments do not justify any further inference as to the geographical knowledge of the writers.

In Asia Minor and the region of the Euxine nearly every name of geographical importance occurs at least once in these fragments, and we find Sardis,⁶ Nineveh,⁷ the Babylonians,⁸ the Carians,⁹ the Erythraeans,¹⁰ the Medes,¹¹ Phrygia,¹² the Issedonians,¹³ Assus in Mysia,¹⁴ Cyzicus,¹⁵ Lycia,¹⁶ Smyrna,¹⁷ Mount Ida,¹⁸ the Tanais,¹⁹ Xanthus,²⁰ and Hebrus²¹ rivers. To Lydia there are three informing allusions. According to Pollux Onomasticon, Xenophanes credited the Lydians with the invention of coinage;²²

¹Hesiod Theogony 337-45.

²Strabo 1. 2. 14.

³Cf. Strabo vii. 3. 7.

⁴Hesiod Theogony 1015-16.

⁵Cf. F. G. Kenyon (ed.), The Poems of Bacchylides (London: British Museum, 1897), intr. p. 12, for evidence that Bacchylides had visited the Peloponnesus; also R. C. Jebb (ed.), Bacchylides (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1905), p. 25.

⁶Alcman 2A. ⁷Phocylides 5. ⁸Cf. Strabo xiii. 2. 3.

⁹Alcaeus 20. ¹⁰Alcaeus 48.

¹¹Theognis 775; Ibycus 20; Xenophanes 22. ¹²Alcman 80.

¹³Alcman 123. ¹⁴Alcman 120.

¹⁵Alcaeus 95. For Alcaeus' fondness for remote geography, cf. C. M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 65.

¹⁶Cf. Pausanias x. 27. 2.

¹⁷Callinus 2; Mimnermus 10.

¹⁸Sappho 65.

¹⁹Simonides 142.

²⁰Alcaeus 112A.

²¹Alcaeus 93.

²²Pollux Onomasticon ix. 83.

and in an extant fragment of Xenophanes we find the idea of Lydian luxury,¹ which, according to the scholiast on Aeschylus, had also been mentioned by Anacreon.² The name of Lydia appears with comparative frequency in the fragments,³ and Theognis mentions Mount Tmolus.⁴ There is little reference to Africa. The Nile and Canopus occur in Solon,⁵ and Strabo says that Alcaeus claimed to have visited Egypt.⁶ Of western places we read of Tartessus,⁷ the Tyrrhenians,⁸ Sicily,⁹ Mount Eryx,¹⁰ and Sardinia.¹¹ The scholiast to Pindar tells us that Ibycus of Rhegium had said that Ortygia was originally an island.¹²

But the scanty fragments of Hecataeus are the chief source of information concerning pre-Aeschylean geographical ideas. The writings of Hecataeus must have appeared some time in the sixth century. The book was, so far as it is possible to judge from the fragments, a periplus, or description of the Mediterranean, to which was added an account of at least some of the inland peoples. The Hecataean fragments are in great part preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, who has listed the names alphabetically rather than in any geographical order, and consequently there is no clue as to Hecataeus' ideas of the location of the various places and peoples, either absolutely or with respect to each other. But he must have been at least vaguely familiar with the whole Mediterranean, for he mentions towns and tribes scattered through all the region from India to Spain.

The fragments name the Pillars of Hercules, Tartessus, various cities and tribes in Iberia, Narbo and Massilia in Gaul, cities in northern and southern Italy, Catania, Syracuse, and other towns of Sicily, Adria on the Ionic Gulf, the Istrians, numerous Aegean towns, Thracians, Scythians, and the Caucasus--all these in what he considered to be Europe. In what he called Asia he lists other Scythians, Issedones, the Caspian Sea, Media, the Parthians, India, Persia, Colchis, the Chalybes, Sidon and other cities of

¹Xenophanes 3.

²Persae 42.

³Alcaeus 1. 68, 69; Sappho 130; Anacreon 134; Mimnermus 14.

⁴Theognis 1024. ⁵Solon 30. ⁶Strabo 1. 2. 30.

⁷Stesichorus 5. ⁸Simonides 136.

⁹Theognis 783; Anacreon 55. ¹⁰Xenophanes 21B.

¹¹Cf. Photius Lexicon 500. 24.

¹²Pindar Nemean 1. 1.

Phoenicia, Syria, Arabia, Aethiopia, Egypt, the Nile, Libya, and cities along the African coast.

But by far the most significant point connected with Hecataean geography is the passage in which Herodotus makes fun of the many writers who believe in the ever-flowing Stream of Ocean and maintain that Europe is no larger than Asia.¹ Hecataeus is not named, but he is generally thought to be one of the "many." At any rate, Herodotus marks a new idea in regard to the comparative size of the continents.

Summing up the scanty extant information, it seems probable that the well informed Greek of 500 B. C. was more or less familiar with the location of all the Mediterranean coast towns; had vague ideas of Euxine and Asiatic peoples as far as India, of tribes north of the Euxine, of Gaul, and even of Iberia; that he had heard of Arabia, Egypt, and Libya, and knew that the regions to the south of the last two were inhabited by people with dark skins; and that he thought the Stream of Ocean flowed around the world, which was more or less circular.

¹Herodotus iv. 36.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRAGEDIANS

An examination of the evidences of geographical knowledge in the works of the tragedians furnishes convincing proof that their familiarity with more remote parts of the world was not much greater than that of the writers of the preceding century, or even than that of Homer, and that fact and myth were still mingled and used side by side. But in regard to their knowledge of Greek and Aegean geography, while there is much greater display of such knowledge than in the works of the earlier writers, it is hard to decide whether this more frequent mention of Greek and Aegean places and names is due to greater knowledge on the part of the writers, or whether its explanation is to be sought in the very nature of the plays themselves. For continental Greece is the setting for twenty-three of the thirty-three extant plays, and five of the remaining ten have Aegean settings.¹

Just as in Homer and Hesiod² Ocean Stream³ with its farther shore⁴ and its islands still serves as poetic ornament. The continents are not clearly distinguished. Sometimes the Thracian Bosphorus marks the division between Europe and Asia,⁵ and at other times it is the Cimmerian Bosphorus;⁶ in still other passages the Phasis⁷ and the Tanais⁸ serve as the boundary. Nor can we even be sure whether the dramatic poets recognized three continents, or whether Asia and Africa were considered as one. But if Aeschylus considered Africa a separate continent, he must have followed Herodotus and made the Nile the boundary between Asia and Africa,⁹

¹Five plays have non-Aegean settings: Persae, Prometheus, Iphigenia Taurica, Helen, and Cyclops.

²Cf. *supra*, pp. 1-2.

³Orestes 1377; Prometheus 138, 531. ⁴Aeschylus fr. 37.

⁵Aeschylus Supplices 547; Ion 1585.

⁶Prometheus 735; Iphigenia Taurica 395.

⁷Aeschylus fr. 106.

⁸Sophocles fr. 548.

⁹Herodotus iv. 45.

for in the two accounts of the wanderings of Io¹ he specifically states that she leaves Europe and enters Asia, but, though her flight takes her through Asia to Aethiopia and the Nile, there is no mention of her leaving Asia and entering Africa.

The setting of each of the tragedies proper is the East, the Cyclops alone having its scene as far west as Sicily, and it is only natural that there should be very few references in the plays to the extreme West. In fact there are only vague and fanciful allusions to Geryon,² Atlas,³ the Atlantic,⁴ and the Hesperides.⁵ Even Liguria⁶ seems to be not very clear in the minds of the dramatists.

The references to Italy are somewhat more frequent but almost equally vague. Sophocles twice mentions Italy by name.⁷ Tuscany is associated with trumpets,⁸ with pirates,⁹ with Scylla,¹⁰ and with a birdless lake where there is an oracle.¹¹ Euripides twice mentions Venetian horses,¹² and Polybius says¹³ that the tragedians told strange tales about the Veneti.¹⁴ Euripides also alludes to the Eridanus,¹⁵ but with no hint of its location further than a vague inference that it is near the Adriatic. The elder Pliny states that Aeschylus located the river in Spain and confused it with the Rhone.¹⁶

Eight fragments of Hecataeus refer to Sicily,¹⁷ Greek

¹Prometheus 786 ff.; Supplices 547 ff.

²Hercules Furens 424. ³Prometheus 350, 428; Ion 1.

⁴Hippolytus 3. ⁵Ibid. 742.

⁶Troades 437; Aeschylus fr. 112; Sophocles fr. 598.

⁷Sophocles fr. 600; Antigone 1119. To a fifth century Greek Italy consisted of Oenotria (the west coast from Messina to Paestum), and Iapygia (the heel of the boot). Oenotria is mentioned by Sophocles (fr. 598). Cf. also "the land neighboring the Ionian Sea" (Troades 224).

⁸Eumenides 567; Ajax 17; Phoenissae 1377; Rhesus 988.

⁹Cyclops 11. ¹⁰Medea 1342, 1359.

¹¹Sophocles fr. 748. Probably the reference is to Avernus, but it is a bit surprising to find Tuscany extending as far south as Naples.

¹²Hippolytus 231, 1131. ¹³Polybius 11. 17. 6.

¹⁴There were four tribes known to the ancients as Ἰνέροι or Veneti, but the one which Euripides refers to is obviously the Illyrian Veneti, who were famous for their horses. Cf. Strabo v. 1. 9. For the other three tribes of Veneti cf. Iliad 11. 852, Tacitus Germania 46, Caesar Bellum Gallicum 111. 8.

¹⁵Hippolytus 737. ¹⁶Pliny Nat. hist. xxxvii. 31-32.

¹⁷Hecataeus fragments 43-50.

colonies had existed on the island for two centuries, and Aeschylus made at least two visits to the court of Hiero; yet references to Sicily are few, and not even in the Cyclops is there any significant geographical information. The single noteworthy passage is Aeschylus' famous description of the eruption of Etna.¹

Of the Adriatic² and Ionian³ seas there is only mere mention. Indeed we cannot be sure what section of the Mediterranean Euripides calls "Ionian."⁴

There is equal vagueness concerning the geography of the East. Milesian colonies had existed on the shores of the Euxine since the eighth century, but in the tragedies there is less frequent reference to these colonies than to the Symplegades, which Sophocles places near the Bosphorus,⁵ and which Euripides implies are near Tauris.⁶ The Phasis,⁷ Ister,⁸ and Tanais⁹ rivers are named but not located, along with two unidentifiable and probably fabulous streams, the Hybristis¹⁰ and Pluto's Stream.¹¹

Around the Euxine dwell strange and fabulous peoples: the "mare-milking Scythians,"¹² who live in wagons;¹³ the iron-working Chalybes;¹⁴ the Gorgons;¹⁵ the one-eyed Arimaspians;¹⁶ and the Hyperboreans.¹⁷

Of course names of Persian cities and peoples occur again and again in the Persae and occasionally elsewhere, but there is no evidence that even Aeschylus had other than the vaguest ideas concerning the lands east of the Halys River, which he, like Herodotus,¹⁸ seems to have regarded as the boundary between Persia and the West.¹⁹

¹Prometheus 370 ff. But this may have been imitated from Pindar Pythian I.

²Hippolytus 736.

³Prometheus 840; Troades 225.

⁴Phoenissae 208. Cf. infra, p. 66.

⁵Antigone 967.

⁶Iphigenia Taurica 124.

⁷Andromache 651; Oedipus Tyrannus 1227; Aeschylus frs. 76, 106.

⁸Oedipus Tyrannus 1227; Aeschylus fr. 76.

⁹Sophocles fr. 548.

¹⁰Prometheus 717. For an attempt to identify the Hybristis, cf. J. E. Harry, Aeschylus' Prometheus (New York: American Book Company, 1905), note on l. 717.

¹¹Prometheus 806.

¹²Aeschylus fr. 111.

¹³Prometheus 709.

¹⁴Ibid. 715.

¹⁵Ibid. 794.

¹⁶Ibid. 805.

¹⁷Choephoroe 373.

¹⁸Herodotus i. 72.

¹⁹Persae 865.

In the extreme East there is mention of the Bactrians,¹ the Mardi,² and the Aethiopians, who are neighbors to the camel-riding Indian nomads.³

With the exception of the Troad, which will be discussed later,⁴ there is surprisingly scanty mention of Asia Minor. Lydia was famed for its gold⁵ and its musical instruments.⁶ Sophocles apparently confused Lydian Magnesia with Thessalian, for he refers to the loadstone as Lydian.⁷ In an unusually plausible account of Io's wanderings, Aeschylus has her pass from Mysia into Lydia and thence into Cilicia and Pamphilia,⁸ though in point of fact Pamphilia lies between Lydia and Cilicia. In connection with this passage should be noted the four where Phrygia and Lydia are coupled with no reference to the intervening land of Mysia,⁹ and it becomes obvious that the dramatists were certainly indefinite and probably indifferent so far as geographical accuracy is concerned.

It seems probable, however, that they were careful to avoid anachronistic allusions to the Ionian Greek cities which came into being long after the times represented in the tragedies. With the exception of the *Persae*, the sole play whose action falls within historic times, the only reference to these cities is in the *Ion*¹⁰--a prophecy that Ion will be their eponymous founder.

Phoenicia is known for its ships¹¹ and commercial activity,¹² and as the country from which Cadmus came,¹³ but not even the Phoenician woman of Euripides' chorus give any information

¹*Ibid.* 306, 318, 732; *Bacchae* 15. ²*Persae* 993.

³Aeschylus *Supplices* 284. The Homeric notion of the "Aethiopians who are divided into two parts" (*Odyssey* i. 23) seems to persist into the fifth century, but the camel-riding nomads seem more like Arabians than like Indians.

⁴Cf. *infra*, p. 16.

⁵*Iphigenia Aulidensis* 787; *Bacchae* 13, 154; *Philoctetes* 394; *Persae* 45.

⁶*Ion* frs. 24, 25; Diogenes the tragedian fr. 1. Cf. *infra*, p. 32.

⁷Sophocles fr. 800. ⁸*Supplices* 550 ff.

⁹*Persae* 770; *Iphigenia Aulidensis* 787; *Alcestitis* 675; *Bacchae* 140.

¹⁰*Ion* 1588. ¹¹*Persae* 410; *Helen* 1272, 1451, 1531.

¹²Sophocles fr. 909.

¹³*Phoenissae* 6, 638; *Bacchae* 171, 1024.

concerning the land beyond the fact that Tyre was an island.¹

The name of Syria occurs, but there is no indication that the dramatists recognized Herodotus' division into Cappadocian Syrians² and Palestinian Syrians.³ In fact, there is reason for thinking that Aeschylus confused Syria and Assyria.⁴

Egypt is little more than a background for the Nile, which, with its broad stream,⁵ its many mouths,⁶ its sandy⁷ three-cornered delta,⁸ and its fertile valley where rain never falls,⁹ seems to have caught the fancy of Aeschylus especially. In the Persae several cities of Egypt are listed among those which furnished troops for Xerxes' army, but nowhere does any of the dramatists give evidence of any exact knowledge of the country. Even the famous Aeschylean fragment¹⁰ consists chiefly of generalities.

Only rarely is non-Egyptian Africa mentioned. Libya, like Lydia, is famous for its flutes.¹¹ The Greek settlement of Cyrene is only indirectly alluded to.¹² Sophocles refers to Carthage by name,¹³ but Euripides calls the city Phoenicia.¹⁴

Though in the comparatively small number of plays dealing with the Trojan legend there are about five hundred passages which mention Troy, Ilium, Phrygia, the Scamander, the Simois, and Mount Ida, there is almost no clear description of Trojan geography. Troy becomes personified and is, so to speak, a character in the drama. Ilium and Phrygia are used as convenient synonyms to vary the monotony; not only Ilium and Phrygia, but Pergamus, the Simois and Scamander rivers, and Mount Ida are called upon to render like

¹Phoenissae 204. Tyre was an island until Alexander joined it to the mainland by means of a mole. Cf. Strabo xvi. 2. 23.

²Herodotus vii. 72.

³Ibid. vii. 89.

⁴Cf. infra, p. 34.

⁵Prometheus 852.

⁶Bacchae 408.

⁷Aeschylus Supplices 4.

⁸Prometheus 814.

⁹Bacchae 408.

¹⁰Aeschylus fr. 161: "Knowing full well, I can laud the race of the Aethiopian land, where seven-channelled Nile rolleth its refreshing tide, fed by abundant wind-born rain, and therein the fire-eyed sun, beaming forth upon the earth, melteth the snow amid the rocks; and all luxuriant Egypt, filled with the sacred flood, maketh to spring up Demeter's life-giving grain."

¹¹Iphigenia Aulidensis 1036; Troades 544; Hercules Furens 684; Helen 170.

¹²Sophocles Electra 702, 727. ¹³Sophocles fr. 602.

¹⁴Troades 221.

service. Instead of saying "in Troy" the poet says "by Simois' streams";¹ Paris is the "Idaeon shepherd."² Probably the magnitude and significance of the fall of Troy had overshadowed the consciousness of its location and geography. Except Troy, few cities of the Troad are even mentioned.

When the dramatists' treatment of the geography of the non-Greek world is compared with their treatment of Greek geography, it is at once clear that the statement of Eratosthenes³ is as applicable to the tragedians as to Homer. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides show little precise knowledge of all this vast outer world and very great indifference to the details of its geography. Fact and myth are mingled as is convenient; vague references to far away places and peoples make the poetry richer, and, since the audience was for the most part unfamiliar with these places and peoples, there was no need for precision.

But the case is very different in regard to Greek geography. The dramatists were Athenians, and the plays were written for presentation in Athens before an audience of Athenians. Moreover, twenty-three of the thirty-three extant tragedies have their settings in continental Greece and thus give occasion for much more liberal mention of Greek places and peoples. Any incorrect references to Athens and Attica would be ludicrous, and the places were so familiar to the writers that there could have been little temptation to be vague. This is almost as true in the case of references to Boeotia, Megara, Corinth, Delphi, and Argos. But as geographical allusion is extended to include more distant and unfamiliar sections of Greece, the allusions are more vague, though for the most part correct. A good illustration is Aeschylus' account of the route followed by the retreating Persians, where the only geographical error is the interchanging of the locations of the River Strymon and Mount Pangaeus.⁴ His choice of the beacon stations is geographically good, whatever may be the possibility of the flames being visible for so many miles.⁵

Probably few Athenians traveled in Sparta, and the dramatists refer to Laconia, and, in fact, to the whole Peloponnesus except Argos, in somewhat vague and indefinite terms. The same holds for the outlying districts of the north and west. But there

¹Helen 250.

²Hecuba 944.

³Cf. *supra*, p. 5.

⁴Cf. *infra*, pp. 61 ff.

⁵Cf. *infra*, pp. 67 ff.

is no intermingling of fact and fancy, and there are no imaginary rivers or strange races in the Greece of the tragedians.

CHAPTER III

THE POETIC USE OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES AND ALLUSIONS

BY THE TRAGEDIANS

The tragedians were not scientists. Rarely, if ever, are geographical names and allusions introduced into the tragedies merely for the purpose of enlightening the audience. But such geographical matter is repeatedly employed to gratify Athenian curiosity, to create a background for the play, to vivify the picture, to enrich the poetry, or to reflect the interests or experiences of the poet.

This geographical material is not utilized to the same extent by all three dramatists: Euripides has proportionately less than Aeschylus and more than Sophocles. But failure meets any attempt to deduce from the plays of any one of the dramatists a principle which will apply to the use made of geographic ornament in all of his extant works and distinguish them from the works of the other two. It is tempting, for instance, to say that Aeschylus used geographical material chiefly to create an atmosphere of grandeur and mystery, while Euripides used it to ornament and augment the very slight and usually extraneous matter of his choral lyrics, and Sophocles, aiming neither at grandiose effect nor dainty choral vapidness, used it very sparingly. But the statement is immediately refuted by the Bacchae, the Iphigenia Taurica, and the Ajax,¹ in all of which geography is used in an almost Aeschylean manner to create atmosphere; by the Oedipus Coloneus, whose ode to Colonus exhibits not only all of Euripides' skill in ornamentation, but also a completely non-Euripidean genius; and by Aeschylus' Suppliants, which has an abundance of geography but very little atmosphere. Each of the three was a poet, and it is no more to be expected that all his plays should be alike in use of geographical material than that they should resemble each other in plot structure.

Nor is geographical material employed to the same extent

¹Especially Ajax 596 ff. and 693 ff.

in all the plays of any one writer; the Prometheus and the Persae are full of it, while the Oresteia and the Seven against Thebes have very little. There is a great deal more of such matter in the Oedipus Coloneus than in any other play of Sophocles. Euripides has a slightly more even distribution than the two older dramatists. Though there are many exceptions, one is tempted to make the categorical statement that those plays which most nearly resemble their dithyrambic prototype,¹ since they are more concerned with pure poetry than with plot and character, have more of geographic ornament. For a play with well constructed plot or great characters will hold the attention of the audience without a great deal of literary ornament, but if there is little or no plot and no character who dominates the situation, then there is need of fine writing and literary adornment--and geographical allusion is one of many kinds of literary adornment.

Speaking very generally, and again subject to exception, we may say that Aeschylus has either no plot at all, or a very simple one; Sophocles always has a well constructed plot; while the plays of Euripides range all the way from no plot at all, like the Troades, to a well constructed plot, like the Ion.

But the principle must not be pressed, for the amount of geographical ornament is by no means always proportionate to the simplicity of plot, and there is nearly, if not quite, as much geography in the Ion as in the Troades. Another factor seems quite as important: the setting of the play. Those plays whose scene is Athens or its vicinity, Argos, or Thebes--all of which were known to the Athenians from actual experience--or Troy--which was as well known to them from poetry as were the grove of Mars and the cave of Vulcan to Juvenal--are generally less ornamented with geographical allusions than are those plays with less familiar settings.

And so we find the Prometheus, a magnificent poem with no plot and with Scythia as a setting, packed with geography, both real and imaginary; but the Oedipus Tyrannus, with its intricate plot and dominating character and Theban setting, has what might be considered an irreducible minimum of such poetic ornament. Between the two extremes come the Bacchae and the Oedipus Coloneus with slender plots and familiar settings, and the Helen and Iphigenia Taurica with well constructed plots and unfamiliar settings; these four contain less geographic ornament than the Prometheus

¹E. g., Prometheus, Persae, Bacchae.

but considerably more than the Oedipus Tyrannus.

But fascinating as such speculative theorizing is, we must not lose sight of the fact that the dramatists were poets, not craftsmen, and that they did not turn out plays designed to fit any couch of Procrustes. There are many exceptions. The Seven against Thebes has no plot at all, and the scene is Thebes; yet we search almost in vain for geographic allusions. But it is epic in style rather than dithyrambic, and "full of Ares";¹ the poetic ornament is the epic description of the seven champions and their opponents. The Ion has an excellent plot and the Delphic setting could scarcely have been unfamiliar, and yet it is rich in geographic ornament. There seems no better explanation than that Euripides apparently liked it; and so did his audience.

Geography may be used to ornament the play as a whole, or to ornament passages within the play. Of the first usage there is no better illustration than the Prometheus. Let the setting of that play be the Plain of Marathon, and let Io's travels be described as they are in the Supplices; what is left? The same story, it is true, but how flat! The jagged rocks and the untrodden tract of Scythia, the fantastic peoples that Io is to visit--they are all as essential to the play as Io herself; they create the very atmosphere of the play. In the Persae the sonority of the long lists of Persian and Asiatic names gives to the play a sort of pompous and barbaric arrogance and pride, the pride that goeth before a fall. In the Iphigenia Taurica the repeated mention of the Clashing Rocks and the bleak rocky shores of wild and barbarian Tauris furnishes a sort of orchestral accompaniment in a minor key. Sophocles pictures the island of Lemnos as deserted and craggy, with caves and cliffs and hills, in order to intensify the impression of Philoctetes' loneliness. And the references to the wild nature of the mountains near Thebes make a splendid background for the frenzied action of the Bacchae.

Many choral passages are enriched with geographical allusions and descriptions. Sometimes, as in the Persae and the Prometheus, this is merely in keeping with the frequent occurrence of geographic allusion throughout the play. But in other cases, especially in Euripides, does it give a raison d'être for an otherwise pointless choral ode. The best example is probably the first chorus of the Iphigenia Aulidensis.² There is no dramatic reason for

¹Aristophanes Ranae 1021.

²Iphigenia Aulidensis 163-302.

the arrival on the scene of the Chalcidian maidens, and apparently nothing for them to say after they do arrive. The catalog of ships makes a nice bit of geographical lyric, and tactfully informs the audience why the maidens have come: to look at the fleet, and especially the sailors, just as twentieth-century maidens are by no means averse to visiting the water-front when "the fleet is in." But leave out the geographical names from the latter half of this passage, and there is nothing left; here we have literary ornament, pure and simple. A later chorus of the same play abounds with Asiatic, and especially Trojan, names.¹ Other choral passages are similarly ornamented for the sake of lyric richness,² or to reflect the poet's own experiences.³

But the far greater part of the geographical references is scattered--a word, or a phrase, or a line here and there. It is to an examination of the technique and purpose of the use of geography in such passages, as well as in the more extended ones, that we now turn.

Identification of Stage Setting

All the tragedians make practical use of geographical reference in order to identify the stage setting, for in the absence of theater programs it was essential that the audience be enlightened early in the play as to what was going on and where. In nearly every case⁴ the setting is clearly established in the opening lines,⁵ almost invariably through mention of the name of the place.

The device in its simplest form consists merely of some such phrase as "this land of Thebes"⁶ or "this rocky shore of Etna,"⁷

¹Ibid. 751-800.

²Cf. infra, p. 31.

³Bacchae 409 ff. Cf. infra, p. 31.

⁴The only exception among the extant plays is the Antigone. But in the opening lines Antigone and Ismene address each other by name, Oedipus is mentioned in line 3, Creon in line 21, and lines 21-38 are a general exposition of the story of Eteocles and Polyneices. The story was probably so familiar to Athenians that they were promptly aware that the action was taking place in Thebes, and consequently there was need for no more explicit statement.

⁵In the Persae, Prometheus, Septem, Oedipus Rex, Helen, Bacchae, both Electras, and Alcestis the setting is established in the first line of the play; in eleven others it is established within the first five lines; the longest delay is in the Orestes, which contains no explicit mention of Argos until line 46.

⁶Bacchae 1.

⁷Cyclops 20.

but it is sometimes elaborated by additional reference to various landmarks and physical features. The Dirce and Ismenus, for example, help to establish the Theban setting of the Bacchae.¹

In other plays the information is given by implication. In the Septem Aeschylus has Eteocles address the "citizens of Cadmus"² and in the Oedipus Rex Oedipus addresses the "young generation of Cadmus of old."³ In the Agamemnon we are told merely that this is the house of the Atreidae,⁴ and in the Alcestis Apollo apostrophizes the palace of Admetus,⁵ the son of Pheres,⁶ which information doubtless made clear to the audience that the action was unfolding at Pherae. In the Persae, though there is no immediate announcement of the location, the appearance of the members of the chorus in Persian costume, coupled with their reference to themselves as Persians,⁷ was surely adequate implication.

In two plays Sophocles is unusually detailed. In the Electra⁸ the old servant points out to Orestes the chief landmarks of Argos. In the Oedipus Coloneus the setting is not a conventional temple or palace, but the mystic shrine near Athens. Upon this as a background much of the spirit and atmosphere of the play depends, and so it is not strange that Sophocles takes considerable pains within the first eighty lines to establish this setting. The technique is facilitated by the very situation: the blind Oedipus must needs get his information from Antigone, who in turn, since she is unfamiliar with this spot "not honored in story,"⁹ must ask the Athenian stranger for information. At the same time Oedipus and the audience receive information which both need.

The Eumenides is the only extant tragedy in which there is a change of scene.¹⁰ The first lines of this play clearly

¹Bacchae 5. ²Septem 1. ³Oedipus Rex 1. ⁴Agamemnon 3.

⁵Alcestis 1. ⁶Ibid. 11. ⁷Persae 1.

⁸Sophocles Electra 4-11. ⁹Oedipus Coloneus 62.

¹⁰There is perhaps a change in the stage setting of the Ajax. Cf. Jebb (ed.), Sophocles' Ajax (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1896), note to l. 813; R. C. Flickinger, The Greek Theater and Its Drama (3d ed.; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 247; Karl Reinhardt, Sophokles (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1933), pp. 39 and 250. But this change is scarcely comparable to that in the Eumenides, for in the latter play the action opens in Delphi and is later (l. 235) transferred to Athens, whereas in the former there is at most a change of a few rods from the tent of Ajax to the nearby seashore.

establish the action in Delphi, and the shift to Athens is sufficiently implied by the invocation of Athena,¹ who obviously would not be invoked at Delphi.

Nearly every play contains later references to the setting. The Ion is replete with mention of Parnassus² and Castalia,³ to say nothing of Ion's monody on the beauties of Delphi.⁴ In the Bacchae Cithaeron is mentioned again and again, the Dirce, the Ismenus, the Asopus, Electra's gate, and Semele's tomb are all named, and there are frequent allusions to the mountains and crags around Thebes. To a less extent the same is true of the Phoenissae. In these cases the amplification of allusion seems to be due to an attempt to vivify to the audience the familiar scenery of Delphi and Thebes. But in other plays there are very different situations. Probably very few Athenians had visited the site of Troy, and yet the Trojan plays have much to say of Mount Ida and the creeks and bays of the Troad, landmarks probably already conventionalized in poetry. Still a third situation is presented by the plays whose setting is imaginary: the Prometheus unfolding its action in fabulous Scythia; the Iphigenia Taurica before the temple of Tauric Artemis, a site which probably no Athenian had ever seen; the Cyclops on a mountain side in far away Sicily; and Euripides' Electra, which, though in Argos, takes place before a peasant's hut and not before the conventional temple or palace. In all these plays there seems to be a conscious effort on the part of the writer to help the spectator to construct in his imagination a suitable background for the action. Similar is the case of the Oedipus Coloneus, for though Colonus is scarcely two miles from the theater where the play was presented, the Colonus that the audience knew was different from the mystic Colonus of the play with its rocky ledge, bronze threshold, and brazen stairs leading to Hades.⁵

Illustrations could be multiplied, but there seems no need of further evidence to prove that the dramatists were concerned that the audience should know at the outset where the action was taking place and should keep it clearly visualized throughout the play.

¹Eumenides 235.

²Ion 86, 155, 714, 1267.

³Ibid. 95, 148.

⁴Ibid. 82 ff.

⁵Cf. Jebb (ed.), Sophocles' Oedipus Coloneus (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1885), intr., pp. xxx ff.

Closely related to the tragedians' desire to vivify to the audience the scene of the dramatic action is their desire to picture clearly the scene of incidents related in the play. There is scarcely a play that does not offer examples of this technique, but two illustrations will be sufficient. In two lines Sophocles makes entirely clear the setting for the murder of Laius,¹ and in the messenger's account of the death of Hippolytus three lines especially² and other allusions scattered through the long speech sketch a vivid, though inaccurate,³ picture of the scene of the catastrophe.

But when the setting is one familiar to the audience, a few mere allusions are enough to accomplish the author's purpose. The best examples are in the Persae and the Ion. In the former play the messenger relates the story of the Battle of Salamis.⁴ Now Salamis was not only familiar to the Athenian audience, it was actually within sight as they sat in the theater on the south side of the Acropolis, and many of the spectators had surely taken part in the famous battle. And so a very few references--the exits of the straits,⁵ the island crags,⁶ the shores and reefs,⁷ the allusion to Psyttalea without even naming it,⁸ and to Xerxes' seat on the promontory⁹--are sufficient to vivify the whole scene, which needed only to be recalled, not described. In the Ion there is frequent mention, but no actual description, of the Long Cliffs to the north of the Acropolis,¹⁰ familiar to all the Athenians and only a few rods from the theater.

Epithets

One of the chief charms of Greek poetry is the generous use of descriptive epithets which, while unessential to the narrative or the thought of the passage, enrich it by bringing before the mind of the reader charming and vivid little pictures. In the beautiful description of the parting of Hector and Andromache we find "plume-waving Hector," the "well built home," "white-armed Andromache," the "beautiful-robed handmaid," "the fair-tressed Trojan women," the "busy housekeeper," "woody Placus," "great-hearted

¹Oedipus Rex 733-34.

²Hippolytus 1198-1200.

³Cf. Augusto Balsamo (ed.), Euripides Hippolytos (Firenze: Bernardo Seeber, 1899), note to l. 1197.

⁴Persae 353-471.

⁵Ibid. 367.

⁶Ibid. 390.

⁷Ibid. 421.

⁸Ibid. 447 ff.

⁹Ibid. 466.

¹⁰Ion 11, 31, 493, 937, 1400, 1482, 1494.

Etion," "bronze-breastplated Hector," and "sacred Ilium,"¹ to mention only a few such epithets from the first lines of the passage. Though they never identify and though they add nothing to the clearness of the passage, their omission would mean the loss of a large part of the poetic beauty.

Milman Parry maintains rather convincingly that in his use of epithets Homer was merely following an already well established tradition, and that his choice from among several traditional epithets was often determined by metrical convenience.² But whether or not Homer was following tradition, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* certainly took their place as models for the later poets. Down through the Alexandrians we find a generous use of epithets, sometimes lifted almost bodily from the pages of Homer, at other times varying somewhat from the Homeric formula but still showing strong evidence of Homeric influence, and at still other times original with the authors.

First there are the stereotyped epithets, which seem to have no real significance and are used to amplify and adorn almost any place name. Such are *λεπός*,³ *εὐδαίμων*,⁴ and *δῶβιος*.⁵ Other epithets, although used with various names, seem to have a strong predilection for some one name. *Κλεῖνος*,⁶ *Ἀνιπάρδος*,⁷ and

¹*Iliad* vi. 369-502.

²*L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1928), pp. 104 ff.

³Used of Thebes (*Hippolytus* 555; *Heracles* 764); of Athens (*Troades* 218; *Ajax* 1221); of Memphis (*Persae* 36); of Colonus (*Phoenissae* 1707); of Ilium (*Troades* 123); of Pergamum (*ibid.* 1065); of Salamis (*ibid.* 1096; *Ajax* 859); of Tmolus (*Bacchae* 65; *Persae* 49); of Ossa (*Euripides Electra* 446); of Ida (*Orestes* 1383); of the Hellespont (*Persae* 745); of the Spercheus (*Philoctetes* 1215); of rivers in general (*Medea* 410, 846).

⁴Used of Athens (*Euripides Electra* 1289; *Iphigenia Taurica* 1088; *Troades* 208; *Oedipus Coloneum* 282); of Arabia (*Bacchae* 16); of Troy (*Hecuba* 443); of Salamis (*Ajax* 598); of cities in general (*Phoenissae* 533).

⁵Used of Athens (*Alcestis* 452); of Hellas (*Iphigenia Aulidensis* 1381); of Mycenae (*Iphigenia Taurica* 510).

⁶Used of Athens (*Persae* 474; *Ajax* 861; *Ion* 30, 590; *Hippolytus* 423, 759, 1094, 1459; *Heracleidae* 38); of Argos (*Iphigenia Taurica* 508); of Troy (*Helen* 105; *Iphigenia Aulidensis* 1069; *Troades* 25, 768); of Salamis (*Ajax* 597); of Sparta (*Helen* 57); of Mycenae (*Sophocles Electra* 160); of Oechalia (*Trachiniae* 750); of the fountain of Arethusa (*Iphigenia Aulidensis* 170).

⁷Used of Athens (*Iphigenia Taurica* 1130; *Alcestis* 452; *Troades* 803).

θεόδοτος¹ usually occur as descriptions of Athens; πολύχρυσος² and other adjectives of wealth nearly always describe Asiatic countries and peoples, and "Cyclopean"³ becomes almost a mannerism with Euripides as an epithet of Argos or Mycenae.

Aside from its quite literal use to describe the stairs of Brauron⁴ and the floor of Dodona,⁵ σαρνός occurs only as an epithet of mountains,⁶ springs,⁷ and rivers.⁸ The word does not appear in Homer, and in Pindar its use is limited to describing places sacred to some divinity. Since all mountains, rivers, and springs are inhabited by nymphs, it is possible that its use by the tragedians had at least a partial element of literal significance. Its use with common nouns in the plays points to the same conclusion.⁹

Other epithets are, in the very nature of things, more limited in their application. Only islands and occasionally promontories can be qualified by any of the various adjectives meaning "sea-girt,"¹⁰ and only rivers can be "fair-," "deep-," or "broad-

¹Used of Athens (Iphigenia Taurica 1449; Hippolytus 974; Sophocles Electra 707); of Delphi (Andromache 1263).

²Used once of Mycenae (Sophocles Electra 9). This is obviously an Homeric echo, for of four cases of the word in Homer, three (Iliad vii. 180; xi. 45; Odyssey iii. 304) are with Mycenae. Cf. Shewan, Πολύχρυσος Μυκῆνη, CR, XXXII (1918), 1-9. Elsewhere in tragedy the adjective occurs as an epithet of Sardis (Persae 45); of Babylon (ibid. 53); of the Phrygians (Hecuba 492); of the lands of the Lydians (Bacchae 13); and of the Lydian and Phrygian wives (Iphigenia Aulidensis 787).

³Euripides Electra 1158; Iphigenia Aulidensis 265, 534, 1501; Hercules Furens 15, 944, 998; Orestes 965; Troades 1088.

⁴Iphigenia Taurica 1462. ⁵Phoenissae 982.

⁶Used of Pelion (Iphigenia Aulidensis 705); of Olympus (Bacchae 411).

⁷Used of Peirene (Medea 69).

⁸Used of the Callichorus (Euripides Supplices 392); of the Dirce (Iphigenia Taurica 401). The Nile is σαρνός (Prometheus 812).

⁹Ion 1220; Oedipus Rex 953; Oedipus Coloneus 100.

¹⁰Many of these epithets occur in Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar, and had probably become conventional long before the time of the dramatists. Παρίπυτος (cf. Odyssey xix. 173; Hesiod Theogony 193, 290) is used of Lemnos (Philoctetes 1), Seyros (ibid. 239), and Sicily (Phoenissae 209). Ἀμφίπυτος (cf. Odyssey i. 50, 193; xi. 325; xii. 283; Hesiod Theogony 983; Pindar Isthmian i. 8) describes Euboea (Helen 1127) and Salamis (Ajax 134). describes the islands of the Aegean (Persae 880), the city of the Taphians (Hercules Furens 1080), and Salamis (Persae 596). Ἀμφι-κλυτος describes Ceneum (Trachiniae 752) and a rock jutting from

flowing."¹ Almost as limited in application are the epithets for "snowy," which are confined to use with Thrace² and with mountains.³

Again and again we find allusion to rivers as the givers of life and nourishment.⁴ The idea goes back at least to the time

the waves (*ibid.* 780). Again, for variety, Salamis (Ajax 135) and Aegean isles (Persae 887) are ἀρχίαλος. (Cf. *Iliad* ii. 640, 697, where, however, ἀρχίαλος probably means "by the sea.") Lemnos is ἀμφίαλος (Philoctetes 1464; cf. Pindar *Olympian* xiii. 40). In other passages the much modified Salamis is περικύμων (Troades 800), ἀλίνληκτος (Ajax 598; cf. Pindar *Pythian* iv. 14), and θαλασσοπληκτος (Persae 307). Chryse is nothing more distinctive than πόντιος (Philoctetes 269; cf. Pindar *Nemean* viii. 18). Ἐνάλιος (cf. Pindar *Pythian* iv. 39; xii. 12; in *Odyssey* iv. 443 it seems to mean "sea dwelling") is the epithet of Aegina (Helen 1130), Cyprus (*ibid.* 148), and Delos (Iphigenia Taurica 1240). The Ἐνάλιος Phoenician land (Phoenissae 6) is probably not the island of Tyre (but cf. "the Phoenician isle" [*ibid.* 204]), but means rather the "sea-fringed land," for the same adjective is used of Aulis (Iphigenia Aulidensis 165).

¹Εὐροός (cf. *Iliad* vii. 329; xxi. 130) describes the Spercheus (Philoctetes 491) and, somewhat tautologically, the Eurotas (Hecuba 650). Εὐρεΐτης (cf. *Iliad* vi. 34; *Odyssey* xiv. 257; Hesiod *Theogony* 343. Homer also has εὐρέης: *Iliad* vi. 508 = xv. 265; v. 433 = xxi. 1 = xxiv. 692.) describes the Simois (Troades 810); καλλιρέεθρος (cf. *Odyssey* x. 107; xv. 295; Hesiod *Theogony* 339. Καλλιρέος also occurs: *Iliad* ii. 752; xii. 33; xxii. 147; *Odyssey* v. 441; xvii. 296; Hesiod *Works and Days* 737; Pindar *Isthmian* vii. 19.) describes the Dirce (Hercules Furens 784). Καλίνναος is the epithet of the Cephissus (Medea 835) and Boebe (Alcestis 589). The Evenus (Trachiniae 559) is εσέβροος (cf. *Iliad* vii. 422; xiv. 311; xxi. 8. Also θαυροπειτής: *Iliad* xxi. 195; Hesiod *Theogony* 265; and θαυοδίνος: *ibid.* 338; *Works and Days* 171). Similarly Simois (Iphigenia Aulidensis 752) and the Spring of Castalia (Ion 95) are ἀργυροειδής.

²Andromache 215; Hecuba 81.

³Bacchae 661 (Cithaeron); Ajax 697 (Cyllene); Troades 1068 (Ida); Helen 1323 (Ida); Oedipus Rex 473 (Parnassus); Phoenissae 206 (Parnassus); Oedipus Coloneus 1060 (Oea).

⁴So of the rivers of Argos, which, "productive, through the land pour their gentle [θελεμόν MGE, or "abundant" θαλερόν P] draught, soothing the soil with fruitful streams" (Aeschylus *Suppliants* 1026); of Spercheus, which "waters the plain with kindly stream" (Persae 487); of Asopus, which "waters the fields with its streams, a kindly enrichment for the land of the Boeotians" (*ibid.* 805); of Apidanus, which, "father of fairest waters, fattens the plain" (Hecuba 454); of Dirce, "most healthful of all drinks poured forth by Poseidon" (Septem 307); of the "great much-nourishing Nile" (Persae 33, which "sends forth its august streams, good to drink" (Prometheus 812); of Cerchnea, "good to drink" (*ibid.* 676); and of the Crathis, "the lovely stream, staining hair bright gold with its holy springs, nourishing and enriching the land which abounds in good men" (Troades 228; cf. Ovid *Metamorphoses* xv. 315, and scholiast on Theocritus v. 16). A fragment of Aeschylus seems to carry the same idea in its reference to the nymphs as the "life-giving children of Inachus, the Argive river" (Aeschylus fr. 84;

of Hesiod¹ and is a natural one to inhabitants of a country like Greece, where for many months each year rain is practically unknown.

In so far as the adjectives just mentioned describe at all, it is purely conventional description. This usage exists to some extent in the poetry of all literatures, but is an outstanding characteristic of Greek poetry beginning with Homer. But of course the Greek dramatic poets do not fail to make use of other epithets and descriptive phrases which show no trace of conventionality, and which, in addition to enriching the poetry, give actual or imaginary information about the places mentioned. Such are adjectives and phrases describing physical characteristics,² climate,³ and products.⁴

Extended Description of Places

As has been said before, most of the geographical description in the tragedies is effected by the scattered use of words and phrases, but there are a few passages of some length devoted to such description.

Delos is more generously described by the use of extended passages than any other place. Four times in the choral lyrics of Euripides⁵ we find a considerable description of the island, always in connection with the birth of Apollo, and usually with mention of the sacred palm tree and other sacred landmarks.

cf. Hesiod Theogony 346). Another fragment, assigned to the Choephoroe, has something about a "nurture-lock to Inachus" (Choephoroe 6), and seems to refer to the gift to Inachus of a lock of hair in return for having been nurtured. In fact, Aeschylus seems to have been especially fond of the motif (cf. Supplices 855, 1027; Agamemnon 1158; fr. 76), and it is perhaps not pressing the point too far to think that it is latent in "Nile and Inachus rear a different race" (Supplices 498).

¹Theogony 346.

²The Hybristis is "not falsely named," and is "hard to cross" (Prometheus 717); the Nile is "mighty" (Aeschylus Supplices 879), and "seven-channeled" (Aeschylus fr. 161); Caucasus is the "loftiest of mountains" (Prometheus 719) and its crests are "star-neighbors" (ibid. 721); the two crests of Parnassus are mentioned by both Sophocles (Antigone 1127) and Euripides (Bacchae 307); Argos is the "land of hills" (Aeschylus Supplices 776) and Sicily the "mother of hills" (Troades 222); Aulis is variously described (Iphigenia Aulidensis 81, 121, 165, 660, 1496, 1600; Iphigenia Taurica 9, 215); etc.

³, ⁴See infra, pp. 45 ff. for a discussion of products and climatology.

⁵Hecuba 455 ff.; Iphigenia Taurica 1098 ff; 1235 ff; Ion 919 ff.

The Troad is more fully described in the Ajax than elsewhere, and along with many scattered bits we find one or two longer descriptive passages. At one time we hear of the "sea-roaring ways, the seaside caves, the pastures by the shore, and the neighboring streams of Scamander, friendly to the Greeks";¹ another tells of the "creeks to the east and west of Ajax's tent";² and a third of the "springs, streams, and plains of Troy."³ Euripides says "The Hellene host shall come to Simois and the silver-whirling eddies, to Ilium, and to the Trojan plain of Phoebus."⁴

Concerning Egypt there is the fragment of Aeschylus⁵ quoted elsewhere,⁶ one of the longest geographical descriptions in tragedy; and Euripides calls Egypt the "land which the hundred-mouthed streams of the barbarian river make fruitful without rains."⁷

In the Hippolytus the account of the hero's death begins with the epic phrase "there is a place" and several lines of description of the place on the Troezenian shore where the catastrophe took place.⁸

Sophocles makes the following allusion to the region of Thermopylae: "you who dwell about the harbor-side and rocky hot springs and the cliffs of Oeta, and who dwell by the mid-harbor of Malis and the shore of the golden-arrowed maid."⁹

Cyprus is the "island of Aphrodite, where dwell the loves, heart charmers for men."¹⁰

Salamis is praised, rather than described, in the Ajax: "Oh Salamis, wave-lashed, you are ever blessed, ever renowned among men."¹¹

And, longest and finest of all, there is Sophocles' ode in praise of Colonus.¹²

None of the preceding is in any way remarkable. The remarkable thing is that there are so few such passages, in contrast with modern poetry, which has so many. The same general difference between Greek and modern poetry is exemplified in the sparing use of natural description by the tragedians.

¹Ajax 412 ff. ²Ibid. 805. ³Ibid. 862.

⁴Iphigenia Aulidensis 751 ff. ⁵Aeschylus fr. 161.

⁶Cf. supra, p. 16. ⁷Bacchae 406; cf. Herodotus ii. 20.

⁸Hippolytus 1199. ⁹Trachiniae 633.

¹⁰Bacchae 402. ¹¹Ajax 597.

¹²Oedipus Coloneus 668 ff.

Inasmuch as most of the longer geographical descriptions occur in lyric passages, the conclusion is inescapable that they were introduced by way of poetic enrichment; and this conclusion is supported by the great number of other lyric passages which contain a wealth of geographical material without an extended description of any one place.¹ Moreover, it is to be noted that nearly all such passages are in choruses of Euripides. The standard Euripidean chorus is merely an interlude between acts, having little or no connection with the dramatic action, and it is only natural that it should be ornamented and enriched by the use of any poetic device at the author's command.

There are, however, several longer passages of special significance. Euripides describes Macedonia with unexpected fullness of praise: "Where are the seats of the muses, excelling in beauty; there are the graces; there is desire; there it is right for the Bacchanals to revel."² This is the only certain evidence in any of the plays of travel on the part of the author. It was during Euripides' period of residence at the Macedonian court during the last years of his life that the Bacchae was written, and he seems to have taken this means of paying a pretty compliment to the land which had received him so hospitably.

Aeschylus' description of the eruption of Etna³ may possibly be a reminiscence of his visit to Sicily, though it is highly improbable that he witnessed the famous eruption of 479/8 B. C. His epitaph, supposedly written by himself, says that he died in Sicily and was buried in "wheat-bearing Gela,"⁴ and though he probably visited Sicily on at least one earlier occasion, his plays give no positive evidence of either visit.

Geographic Epithets

When we come to a consideration of geographical epithets as used by the tragedians, it seems evident that some of them are used literally and for purposes of identification. The hat worn by Ismene is described as "Thessalian,"⁵ and in another passage Sophocles qualifies the same word for "hat" (κυνῆ) by the adject-

¹E. g., Euripides Electra 432 ff.; Iphigenia Aulidensis 1279 ff.; Hercules Furens 348 ff.; Hippolytus 121 ff., 208 ff., 535 ff., 732 ff., 1120 ff.; Troades 197 ff., 1081 ff.; Hecuba 444 ff.; Phoenissae 202 ff.; Antigone 1115 ff.; Aeschylus Supplices 547 ff.

²Bacchae 409 ff.

³Prometheus 370.

⁴Aeschylus fr. 272.

⁵Oedipus Coloneus 314.

tive "Arcadian,"¹ apparently intending in each case to identify a type of hat familiar to the audience. So the "Lesbian moulding" mentioned by Aeschylus² is undoubtedly that type of architectural ornament commonly called "Lesbian cyma" or "Lesbian leaf."³ "Aegean promontories,"⁴ "Tuscan pirates,"⁵ "Nysian and Cnossian dances,"⁶ and "Capherian rocks"⁷ are other instances where the epithet is probably used for identification. Similar are "Phrygian spoil,"⁸ "Idaeian [i. e., Trojan] robes,"⁹ "oriental tapestries,"¹⁰ and "Trojan luxury."¹¹ Although Ismene's "Etnaeian horse"¹² had probably not been imported from Sicily, it is likely that the epithet did identify the breed of horse, which may well have been introduced into Thessaly from Sicily. Arabian horses are raised in America as well as in Arabia.

But even in the passages just cited there seems to be no case where the epithet makes any significant contribution to the general meaning of the passage. After all, it makes no difference to the plot or action of the play what kind of steed Ismene rides --even if, as Boeckh maintains,¹³ it is a mule--or what kind of hat she wears, nor is it essential to the choral passage of the Helen that the rocks be "Capherian" and the promontories "Aegean." It was perhaps a specification given the builder that the moulding be "Lesbian," but the fragment is too brief to warrant any conclusion regarding the importance of such a specification. So even these epithets which do identify may have been used largely for the sake of literary ornament.

At the other extreme are a few epithets which seem to have been purely, or at least largely, conventional, and to have been used solely for purposes of ornament. Chief among these are epithets applied to the names of musical instruments. Five times the trumpet is described as "Tuscan,"¹⁴ while the flute is

¹Sophocles fr. 251.

²Aeschylus fr. 39.

³Cf. Günther Wasmuth, Lexikon der Baukunst (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., 1929), under "Kyma."

⁴Helen 1130.

⁵Cyclops 11.

⁶Ajax 700.

⁷Helen 1129.

⁸Euripides Electra 314.

⁹Ibid. 317.

¹⁰Ion 1159.

¹¹Orestes 1113.

¹²Oedipus Coloneus 312.

¹³Quoted by Jebb (ed.), Oedipus Coloneus, note on l. 312. Cf. also Photius, Lexicon, p. 366, who also thinks "mule" is meant.

¹⁴Eumenides 567; Rhesus 988; Heracleidae 830; Phoenissae 1377; Ajax 17.

"Phrygian"¹ or "Libyan."² But, inasmuch as these adjectives suggest origins, it is possible that they had for the Greek ear a significance which entirely escapes ours.

In his account of the battle of Salamis Aeschylus mentions a "Phoenician ship,"³ and later tells of certain Persians falling from a "Tyrian ship."⁴ It seems obvious that the Phoenician ship means a ship of the Phoenician allies in the forces of Xerxes; the more so, since the passage says that "a ship of Hellas sheared off the stern of the Phoenician barque." The interesting fact that nowhere in the several lists of Persian allies does Aeschylus mention Phoenicia or any Phoenician city has little significance, for Herodotus speaks twice of the large Phoenician contingent at the battle of Salamis.⁵ But in the Helen we find a "Phoenician ship,"⁶ a "Phoenician penteconter,"⁷ and "Sidonian oars,"⁸ while the boat in which the sons of Aegyptus are pursuing the Danaids is called an "Egyptian ὀπίς,"⁹ which word is used also by Herodotus for the craft of the Egyptians.¹⁰ It is possible that the Egyptians of the Helen are referring quite literally to Phoenician ships, but it seems more likely that they merely mean ships of the Phoenician type, as distinguished from the ordinary ὀπίς. In fact Jerram thinks that the expression means no more than a "ship of the best sort,"¹¹ the Phoenicians being famous for their maritime equipment. Somewhat similar is the case of the "Sidonian veils" worn by the daughters of Danaus.¹² Inasmuch as the Sidonians were famous sea-farers and traders, Sidonian veils may well have been imported into Egypt, but it is at least equally reasonable to suppose, with Tucker,¹³ that the epithet refers to their fine quality, "to the beauty and care of workman-

¹Bacchae 127.

²Iphigenia Aulidensis 1036; Hercules Furens 684.

³Persae 410.

⁴Ibid. 963.

⁵Herodotus vii. 89; viii. 85.

⁶Helen 1531.

⁷Ibid. 1413.

⁸Ibid. 1272, 1451.

⁹Aeschylus Supplices 874.

¹⁰Herodotus ii. 41, 96, 179.

¹¹C. S. Jerram (ed.), Euripides' Helena (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1882), note on l. 1531.

¹²Aeschylus Supplices 122.

¹³T. G. Tucker (ed.), Aeschylus' Supplices (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1889), note on l. 122.

ship for which Sidon was famous."¹

Xerxes' "Syrian chariot"² may have been from Syria--or more probably from Assyria; the two were commonly confused.³ The mountain-dwelling Persians doubtless learned about chariots from the plain-dwelling Assyrians, and it seems more probable that the epithet was merely conventional among the Persians. Or Aeschylus may have been thinking of the passage in the Delphic oracle given to the Athenians in 480 B. C.: "Ares speeding his Syrian car."⁴ But the Libyan who contended in the Pythian games had presumably brought his own "Barcaean chariot"⁵ with him. However, in this case it should be noted that the expression is used to identify the contestant rather than to describe the chariot, and really means nothing more than "the chariot driven by the Libyan." The "Thracian chariot"⁶ of Rhesus is obviously quite literal; Rhesus would naturally bring his military equipment with him.

Various weapons are qualified by proper adjectives. Indeed Euripides uses "Dorian" without a noun⁷ to mean "sword," much, as Paley suggests,⁸ after the manner of the gallant youth of a century ago who called his sword a "Toledo." The sword may or may not have been made by a Dorian craftsman (not all "china" comes from China), but the adjective evidently describes the form of the sword, for a few lines farther on we have the comparison implied between a "Dorian and a Phthian blade,"⁹ the latter a heavier type of weapon.¹⁰ On the other hand, the "Dorian lance"¹¹ of the soldier of Plataea, like the "Barcaean chariot" above, serves to identify the contestant, and really means nothing more than the "lances of the Dorians." So also the "Argive spear,"¹² the "Hellene spear,"¹³ and the "Delphic sword."¹⁴

The "Euboean sword" occurs in a fragment too brief¹⁵ to justify any conclusion concerning the significance of the epithet.

¹Cf. Iliad vi. 289.

²Persae 84.

³Cf. Herodotus vii. 63.

⁴Herodotus vii. 140.

⁵Sophocles Electra 727.

⁶Rhesus 302, 616.

⁷Euripides Electra 819.

⁸F. A. Paley (ed.), Euripides (3 vols.; London: Whittaker and Co., 1871), note on Electra 819.

⁹Euripides Electra 836.

¹⁰Cf. Quintus Curtius vii. 14. 29.

¹¹Persae 817.

¹²Troades 346.

¹³Ibid. 479, 868.

¹⁴Orestes 1656.

¹⁵Aeschylus fr. 194.

The "Thessalian lance" occurs twice;¹ in the Bacchae passage it is further described as a lance equipped with a hurling-thong, and the one referred to in the Hippolytus is probably the same sort. Similar is the "Scythian rebounding bow."² Polymestor is appropriately equipped with a "Thracian lance."³ Euripides explains that the "Epidaurian weapon" is a mace."⁴

Often an adjective derived from the name of a place associated with a divinity or famous person is used with the personal name, not to assist in identification, but merely to enrich the language of the passage.⁵ Very similar is the use of the adjective to qualify a common noun, which is then identified by a proper noun in apposition, or by a relative clause: the "Sidonian old man who sowed the dragon's teeth"⁶ for Cadmus; the "Parnassian Phocian, Epeius";⁷ the "Arcadian maid, Callisto."⁸ There are several interesting extensions of the usage. Philoctetes speaks of his "Oetean father,"⁹ obviously not to identify one particular father, nor yet to inform the audience who his father was; if any members of the audience had forgotten the myth, their memories had been refreshed by Odysseus, who informed them in the fifth line of the play that Philoctetes was the son of Poeas. Consequently Philoctetes might as well have said "Oetean Poeas." In the Rhesus there is an elaboration of the motif³ in the invocation: "Oh, Thymbraean and Delian and thou who hauntest the temple of Lycia, Apollo."¹⁰

In none of the preceding cases would there be any ambiguity if the geographical epithet were omitted. But in other cases such an epithet is used with a common noun which, without the epithet, would leave the passage meaningless, or at best, extremely vague. Hermes is "Cyllene's ruler,"¹¹ Odysseus the "lord of the Cephellenians,"¹² Paris the "Idaeon shepherd,"¹³ Hera the "Argive

¹Bacchae 1205; Hippolytus 221.

²Choephoroe 161.

³Hecuba 1155.

⁴Supplices 714.

⁵Such are "Heliconian nymphs" (Oedipus Rex 1109); "Tauric Artemis" (Ajax 172; but perhaps this adjective is not geographical at all: cf. Jebb (ed.), Ajax, note on l. 172); "Ortygian Artemis" (Trachiniae 213); "Cenean Zeus" (*ibid.* 238); "Pylion Nestor" (Philoctetes 422; Iphigenia Aulidensis 273); etc.

⁶Bacchae 1025.

⁷Troades 9.

⁸Helen 375.

⁹Philoctetes 453.

¹⁰Rhesus 224.

¹¹Oedipus Rex 1104.

¹²Philoctetes 264.

¹³Hecuba 944.

goddess,"¹ Pelasgus "lord of the Pelasgians,"² Omphale the "Lydian woman,"³ and Helen the "Spartan woman."⁴ Rhesus speaks of his "Pierian mother,"⁵ but there is no indication as to which one of the muses is meant. Common also is the substantive use of a proper adjective in place of a name easily supplied: "Cephalleanian"⁶ for Odysseus, and "Lemnian"⁷ for Neoptolemus. Indeed Aphrodite is so constantly called "the Cyprian"⁸ that "Cypris" has to all intents and purposes become a name for the goddess. The figure is carried one step farther in the *Rhesus*, where altars of Apollo are called "Thymbraean altars,"⁹ because Thymbra was the site of a famous temple of Apollo.

There is but one case in tragedy of an adjective of nationality used in place of the name of a servant: Aeschylus calls the nurse of Orestes "Cilissa,"¹⁰ the Cilician one. Strabo is our authority¹¹ for considering this a regular custom.¹² Cilissa is much more in keeping with the homely character of the old nurse than are such high sounding names as Arsinoe¹³ and Laodamia.¹⁴

Euripides' use of the expression "Dorian triglyphs"¹⁵ seems to be in a class by itself. All triglyphs are Dorian, and yet the phrase does not seem tautological. Compare the English phrases: Jewish synagogue, Venetian gondolier, Turkish pilaffe, Gothic flying buttress, Russian Cossack, Indian wigwam. In none of these is the adjective necessary, and yet it is not added for ornament; the phrases are conventional and usual.

"Bybline wine"¹⁶ from Byblos in Phoenicia was famous.¹⁷

¹Aeschylus *Supplices* 299.

²*Ibid.* 349, 616.

³*Trachiniae* 432.

⁴Helen 115.

⁵*Rhesus* 349.

⁶*Philoctetes* 791.

⁷*Ibid.* 800.

⁸*Iphigenia Aulidensis* 184; *Trachiniae* 498, 515, 860; *Rhesus* 637, 646; *Troades* 988, 1038; *Helen* 883, 887; *Ion* 896; Euripides *Electra* 43.

⁹*Rhesus* 508. ¹⁰*Choephoroe* 732. ¹¹Strabo vii. 3. 12.

¹²The usage is common in Aristophanes and in Latin comedy. Cf. also Plato *Theaetetus* 174a: $\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\alpha$.

¹³The name of the nurse in Pindar: *Pythian* xi. 25.

¹⁴The name given her by Stesichorus, according to the scholiast on *Choephoroe* 732.

¹⁵*Orestes* 1372.

¹⁶*Ion* 1195.

¹⁷Cf. Hesiod *Works and Days* 589; Theocritus xiv. 15.

But in the Ion it is not clear whether the wine in question had actually come from Phoenicia, or whether, as Jerram suggests, it had been made from a variety of grapes introduced into Greece from Byblos,¹ or whether Paley is right in thinking that a particular brand of wine is used poetically to mean nothing more than "wine,"² the epithet being as strictly ornamental as are the sundry proper adjectives used to qualify the wines of Horace's odes. Purely for literary adornment does Sophocles call silver "Sardian" and gold "Indian";³ gold is gold and silver is silver, and the location of the mine from which it came is of no importance.

The "Pelian pine"⁴ torch is probably the best example in tragedy of an epithet which seems entirely ornamental in spite of its complete literalness. Pelion would be the natural and most convenient source of pine torches for Admetus, and yet a torch from some other source would presumably have given as good a light, however superior Pelian pines were for ship-building⁵--and in poetry.

"Idaeian snow"⁶ is a natural expression for Agamemnon to use in describing the hardships he had endured while besieging Troy. Of course snow would make its appearance on the mountain first, and when it later descended on the Greek camp it would seem to have come from the mountain.

Each of the three occurrences of "Thracian blasts"⁷ specifically refers to winds from that region. Yet the epithet is probably largely conventional, for Thrace was proverbially the home of storms, winter, and bad weather.⁸

The preceding paragraphs have carefully examined a large number of geographic epithets as to whether they are purely ornamental and consequently unnecessary to the sense, or whether they are indispensable to the sense of the passage. But the fact remains that even the essential ones are also ornamental, and add to the general poetic richness.

Geographic Periphrases

Frequently in the works of the tragedians a place is

¹Jerram (ed.), Euripides' Ion (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1896), note on l. 1195.

²Paley (ed.), Euripides, note on Ion 1195.

³Antigone 1037. ⁴Alcestis 915. ⁵Medea 3 ff.

⁶Agamemnon 564. ⁷Ibid. 654, 1418; Antigone 589.

⁸Cf. Alcestis 67; Andromache 215; Hecuba 81.

identified by the use of some adjective or phrase instead of the name. One of the most common forms of this device is the one in which the name of some historical or mythical character is used to effect the identification of a place with the history or legend of which he has been connected. So Athens is the "land of Theseus,"¹ the "city of the Erechtheids,"² the "land of Erechtheus,"³ the "fortress of Pallas,"⁴ the "shores of Pallas,"⁵ the "city of Pallas,"⁶ the "home of Cecrops,"⁷ the "Cecropian land,"⁸ or the "land of Pandion."⁹ In like manner the Athenians are the "sons of Hephaestus"¹⁰ and the "children of Cranaus."¹¹ Mycenae is the "city of Perseus."¹²

Thebes and its citizens are "Cadmean" repeatedly in the Seven against Thebes,¹³ and in one passage Aeschylus even goes so far as to call Thebes the "eponymous city of Cadmus."¹⁴ Euripides employs the same periphrasis many times in the Suppliants,¹⁵ and occasionally elsewhere.¹⁶ It is infrequent in Sophocles.¹⁷ In fact the name "Thebes" never once occurs in Aeschylus' play, and because of this peculiarity it is generally assumed that the title by which we know the play was not given to it by the author, though it certainly was current as early as the time of Aristophanes.¹⁸ Various theories have been advanced as to why Aeschylus so studiously avoided any use of the name "Thebes." Verrall thinks it is

¹Troades 209, 219.

²Hercules Furens 1166.

³Hippolytus 1095; Medea 1384.

⁴Hercules Furens 1323.

⁵Eumenides 10.

⁶Ibid. 79, 772, 1017, 1045; Persae 347; Oedipus Coloneus 108; Hecuba 466; Iphigenia Taurica 1014; Euripides Suppliants 377; Ion 9.

⁷Euripides Electra 1289.

⁸Ion 1571.

⁹Hippolytus 26.

¹⁰Eumenides 13.

¹¹Ibid. 1011.

¹²Iphigenia Aulidensis 1500; cf. Strabo viii. 6. 19.

¹³Septem 1, 9, 39, 120, 303, 531, 543, 679, 1015, 1026, 1075.

¹⁴Ibid. 135.

¹⁵Suppliants 12, 101, 274, 282, 329, 384, 396, 400, 523, 587, 588, 646, 664, 669, 682, 744, 930, 1036.

¹⁶Troades 242; Hercules Furens 6, 754, 1389; Bacchae 840; Phoenissae 882.

¹⁷Oedipus Coloneus 741, 1394.

¹⁸Aristophanes Ranae 1021.

conscious archaizing,¹ and he is perhaps right, for, though the name Thebes appears in Homer² and Hesiod,³ and though the title of the cyclic epic was apparently Thebaid,⁴ the repeated reference to the city's founder has an archaic tone. Tucker suggests⁵ that, since the Thebans must have been unpopular in Athens at the time as a result of Theban medism at the battle of Plataea,⁶ Aeschylus avoided the words "Thebes" and "Thebans" in order to make it easier for the Athenian audience to sympathize with the inhabitants of the besieged city--not a highly satisfactory explanation, for, after twelve years, resentment over Theban medism would probably not be rankling very strongly in the breasts of the volatile Athenians, nor does it seem likely that Aeschylus would have chosen the subject had he feared that prejudice might interfere with the success of his play.

There is frequent reference to eponymous characters in Aeschylus, less in Euripides, and very little in Sophocles. The Bosphorus⁷ and the Ionian Sea⁸ both got their names from Io, the Medes from Medus,⁹ Egypt from Aegyptus,¹⁰ Delphi from Delphus,¹¹ Doris from Dorus,¹² the Ionians from Ion,¹³ and it is probably justifiable to assume that Libya is named in a mutilated passage¹⁴ as the eponymous ancestor of the Libyans. Euripides derives the name of a small island off the Attic coast from Helen¹⁵ and that of an Arcadian city from Orestes.¹⁶ Perseus is indicated, though not named, as the ancestor of the Persian race.¹⁷

¹A. W. Verrall (ed.), The Seven against Thebes of Aeschylus (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1887), intr., pp. xvi-xvii.

²Iliad iv. 378, 496; v. 804; vi. 223; Odyssey x. 492; xi. 263.

³Works and Days 162; Theogony 978; Shield 2, 13, 49, 80, 105.

⁴Cf. Contest of Homer and Hesiod, ed. A. Rzach (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), p. 245.

⁵Tucker (ed.), The Seven against Thebes of Aeschylus (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1908), intr., p. xxi.

⁶According to the prefatory note in the Medicean MS the Septem was produced in 467 B. C., twelve years after Plataea.

⁷Prometheus 783.

⁸Ibid. 840.

⁹Persae 765.

¹⁰Aeschylus Supplices 323.

¹¹Eumenides 16.

¹²Ion 1590.

¹³Ibid. 74, 1588.

¹⁴Aeschylus Supplices 316.

¹⁵Helen 1674.

¹⁶Euripides Electra 1275; Orestes 1647.

¹⁷Persae 79, 146.

Aeschylus tells how the Argives came to be called "Pelasgians" from the name of Pelasgus,¹ and calls Argos the "city" or "realm of the Pelasgians,"² and in one play Euripides refers no fewer than six times to Argos or the Argives by some periphrasis involving the term "Pelasgian."³ Similarly Aeschylus relates the connection between Argos and the leech Apis, and calls Argos the "Apian land,"⁴ as does also Sophocles.⁵

The compound Peloponnesus is separated by Sophocles into "Pelops' isle."⁶ Euripides has "Pelops' land,"⁷ and Aeschylus "Pelops' realm."⁸ In the same fashion Aeschylus calls the Hellespont the "firth of Helle"⁹ and "Helle's stream."¹⁰

Troy is the "Teucrian land"¹¹ or the "plain" or "city of Dardanus"¹² or the "plain of Phoebus";¹³ but "Phoebus' hallowed soil"¹⁴ is Delphi, which is also identified as the place where the "walls of Phoebus hold the mid-navel of the earth";¹⁵ and the "Pythian shore"¹⁶ is the shore of the Bay of Eleusis near Daphne.¹⁷ These last four cases, in which periphrases involving Phoebus are used to identify three widely separated places, show how little concerned the dramatists were that such periphrases should be intelligible outside their context.

Megara is the "boundaries of Alcatheus"¹⁸ and the "city of Nisus";¹⁹ Nemea is "Zeus's glen";²⁰ Corinth is the "land of Sisyphus";²¹ Troezen the "land of Pittheus";²² the shores of Thrace are the "beaches of Phineus";²³ and the island of Leuce becomes the "beach of Achilles."²⁴ Chalcis is called the "Euboean

¹Supplices 250 ff. ²Ibid. 634, 1023; Prometheus 860.

³Orestes 692, 933, 960, 1248, 1296, 1601; also Phoenissae 107; Supplices 358.

⁴Supplices 260 ff.; 117, 177; Agamemnon 256.

⁵Oedipus Coloneus 1303.

⁶Ibid. 696.

⁷Hippolytus 374; Supplices 184, 263.

⁸Eumenides 703.

⁹Persae 69, 722.

¹⁰Ibid. 875.

¹¹Agamemnon 112.

¹²Philoctetes 69; Euripides Electra 5.

¹³Iphigenia Aulidensis 756.

¹⁴Iphigenia Taurica 972.

¹⁵Ion 224.

¹⁶Oedipus Coloneus 1047.

¹⁷Cf. Pausanias 1. 37. 6.

¹⁸Heracleidae 278.

¹⁹Hercules Furens 954.

²⁰Ibid. 359.

²¹Medea 1381.

²²Euripides Supplices 4.

²³Iphigenia Taurica 422.

²⁴Ibid. 436; Andromache 1260.

dwellings of Chalcodon."¹ Interesting are the "waterless seats of Ammon"² for Libya, and the "land of Zeus [Ammon] whose pastures border on Libya"³ for Egypt. Though the "children of Hephaestus"⁴ refers to the Athenians,⁵ when joined with a reference to Etna the "land of Hephaestus"⁶ is obviously Sicily. The personal names are merely implied when Eleusis is called the "torch-lit shores where the queens cherish their solemn rites."⁷ A section of Eleusis seems to be meant by the "enclosure where ears of corn first appeared above the earth,"⁸ though in this case the complete lack of any personal allusion adds to the vagueness.

Very similar is the device of identifying a city or district by the name of its inhabitants or of its ruler or of a prominent citizen. So Delphi is the "acropolis" or "city of the Phocians";⁹ Troy is "Priam's plain"¹⁰ or "land"¹¹ or "city,"¹² or the "city of the Phrygians."¹³ Oechalia is the "city of Eurytus"¹⁴ and the "windy native city [of Iole]."¹⁵ By the "city of the Taphians"¹⁶ Euripides seems to refer to a particular city, but we do not know its name, nor is the "fortress of the Cissians"¹⁷ otherwise named. The author quite possibly had no particular city in mind when he wrote a "sea-side city of the Locrians."¹⁸

A place is often referred to not by its own name but by the name of some other place or physical formation in the vicinity. Rivers and mountains are most frequently used for this kind of

¹ Philoctetes 489. ² Euripides Electra 734; Alcestis 115.

³ Aeschylus Supplices 4; cf. ibid. 558. In l. 4 the MS reads δῖον, but Tucker, Sidgwick, and Smyth all read Δῖον.

⁴ Eumenides 13.

⁵ Cf. Verrall (ed.), The Eumenides of Aeschylus (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1908), note on l. 13, where the editor thinks "the children of Hephaestus" means "craftsmen," "road-builders."

⁶ Troades 220.

⁷ Oedipus Coloneus 1050.

⁸ Euripides Supplices 30. Cf. Paley's note on the line and Pausanias i. 38. 6.

⁹ Orestes 1094, 1209.

¹⁰ Iphigenia Aulidensis 355.

¹¹ Troades 838.

¹² Agamemnon 127, 267, 710, 812, 1335.

¹³ Iphigenia Aulidensis 682, 773; Hecuba 4.

¹⁴ Trachiniae 259.

¹⁵ Ibid. 327.

¹⁶ Hercules Furens 60, 1080.

¹⁷ Persae 120.

¹⁸ Rhesus 700.

identification. The Nile serves for Egypt,¹ and Troy is identified by some periphrasis involving the Scamander,² the Simois,³ or Mount Ida.⁴ Noteworthy is the expression "Idaeon dust covers them"⁵ for "they are buried in Troy."

The Dirce, the Ismenus, and even the Asopus stand for Thebes.⁶ The Eridanus⁷ represents north Italy, while south Italy is the "land near the Ionian Sea, watered by Crathis";⁸ the "Eurotas" is Sparta;⁹ Argos is identified with Lerna¹⁰ or Inachus,¹¹ or is the "land of hills";¹² the Alpheus does for Olympia;¹³ and Thessaly is the "land of the Peneus, footstool of Olympus."¹⁴ Delphi is "Castalia"¹⁵ or the "Corycian Cave"¹⁶ or has some connection with Parnassus¹⁷ or is the "navel of the earth,"¹⁸ while Parnassus itself is represented by "Corycian crests"¹⁹ and "Delphian rocks,"²⁰ and the Phocian dialect is called the "speech of Parnassus."²¹ Corinth is referred to as "the Isthmus"²² or "Peirene's spring."²³ The sea near the mouth of the Strymon is

¹Aeschylus Supplices 497, 922, 1024; Persae 34; Helen 89, 462, 491.

²Troades 29, 374; Helen 52, 368, 609; Orestes 1310; Agamemnon 511, 1157; Eumenides 398.

³Hecuba 642; Andromache 1019; Troades 810, 1116; Helen 250; Euripides Electra 441; Orestes 809.

⁴Hecuba 325, 354; Helen 658; Rhesus 282, 287; Ajax 434, 601.

⁵Hecuba 325.

⁶Bacchae 5; Hercules Furens 572, 781, 785, 1163; Phoenissae 368, 1026; Euripides Supplices 61, 1150, 1214.

⁷Hippolytus 737.

⁸Troades 227.

⁹Ibid. 133, 210; Hecuba 650; Helen 124, 162, 210, 493, 1492; Iphigenia Taurica 135, 400; Andromache 437.

¹⁰Phoenissae 126.

¹¹Euripides Electra 1; Orestes 932; Phoenissae 574; Euripides Supplices 372, 890.

¹²Aeschylus Supplices 776.

¹³Euripides Electra 781, 863; Hippolytus 535.

¹⁴Troades 214. ¹⁵Iphigenia Taurica 1257. ¹⁶Eumenides 22.

¹⁷Choephoroe 953; Eumenides 11.

¹⁸Oedipus Rex 899; Orestes 331, 591; Ion 222.

¹⁹Bacchae 559.

²⁰Ibid. 306.

²¹Choephoroe 563.

²²Oedipus Rex 940; Troades 1098; Ion 176; Euripides Electra 1288.

²³Troades 205; Euripides Electra 475; Medea 69.

the "Strymonian Sea";¹ Arcadia is "Parrhasia";² Thrace is the "silver-bearing land"³ and Athens the "olive-crowned mount,"⁴ while the Lydians are "those who dwell around sacred Tmolus."⁵ Aeschylus carries the device a bit further in calling the Ionians "those who hold in subjection all the mainland tribes,"⁶ and Sophocles considerably further when he says the sun sets on the "shores of the evening god."⁷

In cases where there is no possibility of ambiguity the name of the continent is substituted for that of the country. Twice in Euripides "Asia" and "Europe" are used together to mean "Troy and Greece,"⁸ and in three other passages of the same author "Asia" means "Troy."⁹ The figure does not occur in the plays of Sophocles, and Aeschylus employs it only in the Persae, where the exact shade of meaning is not very clear. Perhaps, like Euripides, he is merely striving for variety, but the general tone of the play makes it seem more likely that he intended to suggest the arrogance of the Persians by having them refer to their country by the more inclusive name. Or he may have been trying to magnify the glory of Greece by reminding the audience that not only the comparatively small country of Persia, but all the Persian dominions--that is, roughly speaking, all Asia--had suffered defeat at the battle of Salamis. Three cases of the usage are so vague as to indicate nothing at all of the writer's motive.¹⁰ The apostrophe of "cities of all Asia, Persian realm"¹¹ is only slightly more illuminating, but the references to Xerxes as having "emptied the whole continent"¹² and "ruling all Asia"¹³ seem to point to either the second or the third interpretation, or even to both.

An interesting variety of periphrasis is the substitution of a specific proper name for a more general term. Probably the best example of this device is the passage in which Hermione tells

¹Persae 867; but cf. A. Sidgwick (ed.), The Persae of Aeschylus (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1903), note on l. 867, where the editor thinks the reference is to Lake Prasius, a lake-like broadening of the Strymon. Cf. Herodotus v. 16-17.

²Orestes 1645.

³Rhesus 970.

⁴Hercules Furens 1178.

⁵Persae 49.

⁶Ibid. 42.

⁷Oedipus Rex 177.

⁸Troades 927; Hecuba 481.

⁹Troades 748; Euripides Electra 315; Orestes 353.

¹⁰Persae 12, 61, 73.

¹¹Ibid. 249.

¹²Ibid. 718.

¹³Ibid. 763.

Andromache that one of her duties will be to sprinkle the floor with "dew of Achelous."¹ The Achelous though miles away was the source of all rivers and springs, and consequently the expression means nothing more than "water." Indeed, Sidwick maintains that Achelous is always used with reference to fresh water, and so, following Weil, holds that the "Acheloan cities of the Strymonian Sea"² are the cities on Lake Prasias and not the cities on the Aegean. If he is right, we surely have a strangely mixed figure.

To mean an extremely great amount of water Sophocles employs the names of two large rivers and says that neither Phasis nor Ister would be able to wash the pollution from the house of Oedipus.³ But Euripides, coupling the Phasis with the Nile, makes the expression refer to the uttermost parts of the earth.⁴ With the same significance he employs Euxine and Atlantic,⁵ and in two other passages the Atlantic stands for something far away.⁶ "Neither in Lycia nor in Ammonia"⁷ is used with a somewhat similar metaphorical meaning--"nowhere in the world."

To be contrasted with the use of Asia and Europe noted above, where the meaning is narrowed to refer to Troy and Greece, we find one case where the phrase is used with an extended meaning, "the whole world."⁸ Aeschylus goes even further and, selecting one European nation and one Asiatic, uses "Pelops' realm and Scythia"⁹ for "the whole world."

Though not a periphrasis, yet of kindred nature, is Euripides' calling old age a "burden heavier than Etna."¹⁰ And striking is Aeschylus' reference to iron as a "stranger . . . a Chalyb colonist of the Scythians."¹¹

We have observed in considerable detail the varying technique of the geographic periphrases which appear in the plays of the three tragedians. The purpose varies not at all. In each case the idea could have been expressed more simply and directly by the use of the name instead of the periphrasis for it, but the result would have been often too much plainness and directness and a lack of that variety and ornament which is one of the essentials

¹Andromache 167.

²Persae 868.

³Oedipus Rex 1227.

⁴Andromache 651.

⁵Hippolytus 3.

⁶Ibid. 1053; Hercules Furens 234.

⁷Alcestis 114.

⁸Ion 1356.

⁹Eumenides 703.

¹⁰Hercules Furens 639.

¹¹Septem 728.

of poetry.

The Sea

Considering the fact that the Athenians lived within sight of the sea and from the earliest times had been a seafaring people, there are in the tragedies surprisingly few passages in which the sea figures prominently. Of course there is repeated mention of the Aegean or the Euxine, but usually only as a means of travel or an obstacle to be crossed on the way to Troy or Colchis.

Clearly a reminiscence of Homer is πόντου φλοῖσβον.¹ The rushing current of the Euripus seems to have greatly impressed both Aeschylus and Euripides, for the former speaks of "back-flowing Aulis,"² and the latter of the "stormy narrows of Euripus"³ and the "narrow anchorages of Aulis."⁴ Poetically vivid is the "jaw of Salmydessus, step-dame of ships."⁵ Sophocles' "inhospitable Thracian wave"⁶ is probably the Euxine shore of Thrace--the more since the word ἀπόξενον would undoubtedly suggest "Euxine" to a Greek--but there is nothing in the context to preclude the possibility of its referring to the Aegean shore. Euripides has the "purple sea,"⁷ the "sea-surge of the grey brine,"⁸ and the "briny Aegean depths,"⁹ and Sophocles calls the sea the "great chamber of Amphitrite."¹⁰

The Bosphorus is "mighty"¹¹ and a "stream of the god."¹² The "sounding straits"¹³ obviously are the waters around Salamis. The "great gulf of Rhea"¹⁴ is the Ionian Sea.

Climate and Products

There are not many references in tragic drama to climate. This is not strange when we consider that the world with which the Greeks were familiar nearly all bordered on the Mediterranean and had a climate generally similar to that of Hellas. Mention has already been made of the snow and cold of Thrace.¹⁵ Media is "stormy,"¹⁶ Persia "sunny."¹⁷ Egypt is "warm,"¹⁸ a "hazy land,"¹⁹

¹Prometheus 792.

³Iphigenia Aulidensis 166.

⁵Prometheus 726.

⁷Troades 124. ⁸Helen 400.

¹⁰Oedipus Rex 195.

¹³Ibid. 367.

¹⁵Cf. *supra*, p. 37.

¹⁷Ibid. 14.

¹⁹Ibid. 75.

²Agamemnon 190.

⁴Ibid. 1497.

⁶Oedipus Rex 197.

⁹Troades 1.

¹¹Persae 723. ¹²Ibid. 746.

¹⁴Prometheus 837.

¹⁶Bacchae 16.

¹⁸Aeschylus Supplices 71.

and there is further reference to the hot sun of Egypt in the allusion to the Egyptians as a "sun-smitten race."¹ Troy² and Oechalia³ are "windy," and Libya is "waterless."⁴ Sophocles had apparently heard of northern winters, for he speaks of "Rhipean snow."⁵

The references to products of various regions are less scanty, but hardly to be called numerous. Various districts, especially river valleys, are described as "fruitful."⁶ A notable exception is Attica itself, the pooriness of whose soil Aeschylus calls one of the great defenses of the land,⁷ for an invading army is in danger of starvation. Thebes is "deep-soiled."⁸ More specifically Phrygia⁹ and Asia¹⁰ are "sheep-pasturing" and Crisa is pastoral.¹¹ Olives grow on Samos¹² and in Attica,¹³ wheat in Boeotia,¹⁴ Gela,¹⁵ and the unidentified land of Aphrodite,¹⁶ grapes in Attica¹⁷ and in Peparethus,¹⁸ horses in Argos and Thrace,¹⁹ papyrus in Egypt,²⁰ and forests on nearly all mountains.²¹

Of minerals, only gold, silver, and iron are mentioned. Gold comes from Tmolus²² and Pangaeus;²³ silver from Attica²⁴ and Pangaeus.²⁵ There are several references to iron from Scythia and the Chalybes,²⁶ probably an indication that Hittite iron had found its way into Greece. Indeed, the mention of Scythian iron and

¹Ibid. 155. ²Ajax 1190. ³Trachiniae 327.

⁴Euripides Electra 734. ⁵Oedipus Coloneus 1248.

⁶Troades 748 (Asia); Andromache 1045 (Phrygia); Hercules Furens 464 (Pelasgia).

⁷Persae 794. ⁸Septem 305. ⁹Aeschylus Supplices 548.

¹⁰Persae 763. ¹¹Sophocles Electra 180.

¹²Persae 882. ¹³Troades 801; Oedipus Coloneus 17, 701.

¹⁴Phoenissae 644.

¹⁵Aeschylus fr. 272. ¹⁶Aeschylus Supplices 555.

¹⁷Oedipus Coloneus 17. ¹⁸Philoctetes 549.

¹⁹Cf. infra, p. 50.

²⁰Aeschylus Supplices 761; also Troades 128, where Egypt is called the "mother of rope," which was made from the papyrus plant.

²¹E. g., Oedipus Rex 1026 (Cithaeron); Hercules Furens 240 (Helicon and Parnassus).

²²Bacchae 154. ²³Rhesus 921.

²⁴Persae 238; Cyclops 293.

²⁵Rhesus 970. ²⁶Prometheus 301, 714; Septem 728, 817.

Egyptian rope are the only two unmistakable references in the tragedies to commercial activity.

Praise of Athens

Again and again in the writings of the tragic poets we find flattering allusions to Athens. How far this was sincere patriotism and how far it was a bid for the favor of the judges we cannot tell with certainty. Some of these allusions have already been considered in the section on Stereotyped Epithets, and there are a number of longer passages, and though the subject is not exactly within the province of a consideration of geography, they deserve a brief examination.¹

It is only fitting that in the Persae, whose theme is the glorification of Athenian democracy in contrast with Persian absolutism, Aeschylus should laud Athens. Athenian freedom,² military prowess,³ and wealth⁴ all receive complimentary mention. In the Eumenides he calls Athens a "righteous and god-loved land."⁵

In the Oedipus Coloneus Sophocles never tires of singing the praise of Athens, the "most honored of cities,"⁶ "most devout and hospitable,"⁷ a "wisely governed state,"⁸ a city which "champions right and law,"⁹ and "knows best how to reverence the gods."¹⁰ And throughout the play, as also in Euripides' Supplices is the implication that Athens is the protector of those who have been unjustly treated.

Euripides says that Athens is the foremost city in "honoring the muses,"¹¹ the "city of the graces,"¹² a "very holy city,"¹³ "free and democratic,"¹⁴ "giving protection to strangers,"¹⁵ and that the Acropolis is the "sacred hill where Athena showed the first shoot of the green olive, a crown and glory to rich Athena."¹⁶

¹Cf. Ernest L. Hettich, A Study in Greek Nationalism; the Testimony of Euripides (Williamsport, Pa.: The Bayard Press, 1933), especially chaps. ii and iii; also H. B. Dunkel, Panhellenism in Greek Tragedy (Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Greek, University of Chicago, 1937), passim; also O. Schroeder, De laudibus Athenarum a poeticis tragicis et ab oratoribus (Göttingen dissertation, 1914); and La Rue van Hook, "The Praise of Athens in Greek Tragedy," CW, XXVII, 185.

²Persae 242.

³Ibid. 236.

⁴Ibid. 238.

⁵Eumenides 805.

⁶Oedipus Coloneus 108.

⁷Ibid. 260.

⁸Ibid. 1004.

⁹Ibid. 912.

¹⁰Ibid. 1007.

¹¹Rhesus 941.

¹²Heracleidae 379.

¹³Ion 184.

¹⁴Euripides Supplices 405.

¹⁵Medea 848.

¹⁶Troades 800.

Sophocles' ode to Colonus is really much more in praise of Athens than of Colonus.¹

In contrast we find a few cases of most bitter disparagement of Sparta, all in Euripides. Three of these are in the Andromache, and probably reflect the Athenian attitude toward Sparta between 420 and 415 B. C.² The first is a passage of about ten lines,³ and contains every possible sort of vituperative accusation. The second is a condemnation of the manner in which young women conduct themselves in Sparta,⁴ and the third a statement that if the military fame be taken from Sparta, there is nothing left.⁵ In comparison with these three, his remark in the Supplices that Sparta is heartless seems very mild.⁶

Greeks and Barbarians⁷

Again and again in the works of the tragic poets we have evidence that the Greeks not only were conscious that they differed greatly from the barbarians, but also, like all other nations, ancient and modern, were complacently sure that all other peoples were vastly inferior to them.

Euripides repeatedly calls Tauris "barbarian."⁸ Jason self-pityingly says that he failed to realize what sort of person Medea was when he "brought her from a barbarian land to Hellas."⁹ It is "right for Greeks to rule barbarians,"¹⁰ and Menelaus asks with indignant irony whether "barbarians shall rule Greeks."¹¹ Other passages give evidence of the same Greek attitude: "grovel like some barbarian";¹² "Greeks have discovered barbarian evils";¹³ "you have become a barbarian, being long amongst barbarians";¹⁴ "being a foreigner, you are too haughty with Greeks";¹⁵ Hecuba

¹Oedipus Coloneus 668 ff.

²Cf. P. H. Epps, "The Place of Sparta in Greek History and Civilization" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Greek, University of Chicago, 1928), passim, especially pp. 47 ff.

³Andromache 445 ff. ⁴Ibid. 596 ff. ⁵Ibid. 724.

⁶Euripides Supplices 187.

⁷Cf. Hettich, op. cit., chap. iii; also Dunkel, op. cit. pp. 16 ff.

⁸Iphigenia Taurica 629, 739, 906, 1086, 1112.

⁹Medea 1330.

¹⁰Iphigenia Aulidensis 1400.

¹¹Andromache 666.

¹²Agamemnon 919.

¹³Troades 764.

¹⁴Orestes 485.

¹⁵Aeschylus Supplices 914.

accuses Helen of wanting "barbarian homage."¹ The women in the chorus of the Andromache magnanimously announce that "even though they are Phthians, they would gladly help an Asian woman,"² comment on the enormity of a Trojan presuming to "rival a Greek,"³ and remark that "cunning is the soul of Asia's daughters."⁴ The Persians several times naively refer to themselves as barbarians.⁵

The Greeks were acutely conscious of their own democracy as contrasted with the absolute rule under which other peoples lived. This note is constantly sounded in the Persae⁶ and occasionally elsewhere,⁷ and probably loud applause greeted Aeschylus' statement that the "Athenians were slaves of underlings of no man."⁸

One of the favorite special points of contrast was that of luxury, for the Greeks had only scorn and contempt for the effeminate and sybaritic life of the Trojans and Persians, and at least pretended to scorn Asiatic wealth. Aeschylus mentions the "luxurious Lydians,"⁹ describes Sardis,¹⁰ Babylon,¹¹ and the royal palace at Susa as "rich in gold,"¹² and calls Persia a "bounteous haven of wealth."¹³ Euripides speaks of "Trojan luxury"¹⁴ and "Phrygian splendor of robes,"¹⁵ says Troy is "flowing with gold,"¹⁶ pictures Clytemnestra seated amid "Phrygian spoil,"¹⁷ and has the chorus of the Heracles piously hope that it "may never have the wealth of an Asian tyrant."¹⁸ The Persian couches are "daintily chitoned"¹⁹ and "Syrian incense is a glory for the house."²⁰ Certainly there is disparagement in Aeschylus' mention of the "long-haired Medes"²¹ and in Euripides' "chanting sorcerer from Lydia, with perfumed yellow curls, wanton-eyed, consort of women, making pretense of Bacchic mysteries."²²

Aeschylus says that the sons of Aegyptus are lustful²³ and Euripides that all barbarians are incestuous.²⁴

¹Troades 1021. ²Andromache 119. ³Ibid. 128.

⁴Ibid. 159. ⁵Persae 255, 423, 434, 475, 844.

⁶Cf. Ibid. 211, 762.

⁷Cf. Euripides' Supplices 399 ff. ⁸Persae 242.

⁹Ibid. 41. ¹⁰Ibid. 45. ¹¹Ibid. 52. ¹²Ibid. 3.

¹³Ibid. 250. ¹⁴Orestes 1113. ¹⁵Troades 1220.

¹⁶Ibid. 995. ¹⁷Euripides Electra 314; Orestes 1434.

¹⁸Hercules Furens 643. ¹⁹Persae 543.

²⁰Agamemnon 1312. ²¹Aeschylus fr. 272.

²²Bacchae 232 ff. ²³Supplices 741, 817.

²⁴Andromache 173 ff.

As to military prowess, it is said that the Phrygians are "cowards"¹ and "inferior to the Greeks in war,"² that the Persians,³ Scythians,⁴ and Phrygians⁵ are all "archers," that the Ligurians are "dauntless,"⁶ that the Mysians are "hurlers of javelins"⁷ and the Persians "bearers of scimitars,"⁸ that the Thracians are "horsemen and warlike,"⁹ that the Athenians "do not fight with bows, but have lances for close fight and carry shields,"¹⁰ and that Eteocles used a "method of fighting learned in Thessaly."¹¹

The Scythians seem to have been famous for their strange habits. They are "nomads" and "live in wattled wagons,"¹² "eat cheese made from mares' milk and have good laws."¹³

In a few cases it appears that the poets try to bring out the difference between Athens and other Greek states. The Aetolians are "shield-bearers,"¹⁴ Mycenae is "rich in gold"¹⁵ and was "once prosperous,"¹⁶ and the Thessalians pride themselves on "bull-slaughtering and horse-taming."¹⁷ Of course there are references to the horses and chariots of Argos,¹⁸ Thebes,¹⁹ and Thrace.²⁰

That the dramatists were conscious of racial and national peculiarities in the matter of dress is clearly shown in two passages of Aeschylus. In the *Eumenides* the priestess says she knows no tribe whose garments are like those of the Furies,²¹ and in a fragment someone inquires "Where does this woman-man come from? What is his country? What is his dress?"²² And Euripides says that Tydeus' garb is "foreign and half barbaric."²³

From various passages we glean bits of information concerning the garments worn by Greeks and by foreign peoples. The

¹*Orestes* 1448.

²*Ibid.* 1485.

³*Persae* 926.

⁴*Prometheus* 711.

⁵*Rhesus* 32.

⁶Aeschylus fr. 112.

⁷*Persae* 52.

⁸*Ibid.* 56.

⁹*Hecuba* 1089.

¹⁰*Persae* 240.

¹¹*Phoenissae* 1407.

¹²*Prometheus* 709.

¹³Aeschylus fr. 111. Cf. also *Iliad* xiii. 5.

¹⁴*Phoenissae* 1408.

¹⁵Sophocles *Electra* 510.

¹⁶*Iphigenia Taurica* 510.

¹⁷Euripides *Electra* 815.

¹⁸*Orestes* 1621; *Iphigenia Taurica* 700; Euripides *Supplices*

365.

¹⁹*Phoenissae* 17; *Antigone* 149, 845; *Hercules Furens* 467.

²⁰*Hecuba* 9, 710; *Rhesus* 302.

²¹*Eumenides* 57.

²²Aeschylus fr. 31.

²³*Phoenissae* 138.

Danaïds arrive in Argos wearing "non-Greek garb of close woof."¹ The Asiatics wore more ornate garments than the Greeks, for we read of Paris in "gaudy raiment trimmed with gold, barbaric bravery,"² and of "Asiatic slave-women wearing Idaean robes fastened with gold brooches."³ Persian women wore "deep girdles,"⁴ "fine linen,"⁵ and "veils";⁶ Xerxes went forth to war in "embroidered robes."⁷ White attire was characteristic of the Egyptians.⁸ Polymestor says that the Trojans held his Edonian cloak up to the light (presumably to examine the texture) and admired it,⁹ but the Thracian *στολή* of the soldiers of Rhesus¹⁰ probably refers to their military equipment rather than to their garb. We should like to know who are the people of the Aeschylean fragment¹¹ who "wear socks in their well fitting shoes."

Other allusions merely indicate that the garb of certain nations was distinctive without describing any of its points. Philoctetes judges from their clothes that the members of the chorus are Greeks;¹² Copreus is Greek in dress, barbarian in deed;¹³ Agamemnon, on seeing the corpse of Polydorus, says that it is plainly not that of an Argive, as the garments show;¹⁴ and Oedipus is recognized by his dress and his marred face.¹⁵ The chorus of the *Persae* recognizes the approaching messenger as a Persian.¹⁶ Is it by his dress? Or gait?¹⁷

"Thessalian"¹⁸ and "Arcadian"¹⁹ hats were probably varieties of broad sun-hat. What the "Libyrnic cloak"²⁰ and "barbarian"²¹ and "Mycenean shoes"²² were is not known.

Atossa dreamed a dream in which she saw "two maidens, one

¹Aeschylus *Supplices* 235.

²*Iphigenia Aulidensis* 73; *Troades* 991.

³Euripides *Electra* 317. ⁴*Persae* 155. ⁵*Ibid.* 125.

⁶*Ibid.* 537. ⁷*Ibid.* 836.

⁸Aeschylus *Supplices* 720; cf. Herodotus 11. 37.

⁹*Hecuba* 1163. ¹⁰*Rhesus* 313. ¹¹Aeschylus fr.144.

¹²Philoctetes 223. ¹³*Heracleidae* 130. ¹⁴*Hecuba* 734.

¹⁵Oedipus Coloneus 555. ¹⁶*Persae* 248.

¹⁷A. O. Prickard (ed.), *The Persae of Aeschylus* (London: Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1889), note on l. 248.

¹⁸Oedipus Coloneus 314. ¹⁹Sophocles fr. 251.

²⁰Aeschylus fr. 201. ²¹*Orestes* 1370.

²²*Ibid.* 1470.

clad in Persian garments, the other in Dorian."¹ In this case "Dorian" means merely "old Greek,"² as also in Euripides' reference to the single garment of a Dorian maid.³

The Greeks applied to all foreigners the name *βάρβαροι*, a word formed onomatopoeetically to allude to the unintelligible babble of any language other than Greek,⁴ and there is abundant evidence in the tragic poets that the Athenians of the fifth century still preserved a large measure of scorn for any language other than their own. In the *Phoenissae* Jocasta calls the Phoenician language a *βόη*,⁵ a word used elsewhere with great frequency by Sophocles and Euripides for an inarticulate cry or noise. Again in the *Bacchae* *βοή* and *εὐνοή* are used of the Phrygian cries which made a part of the worship of Bacchus.⁶ In the *Persae* the chorus naively remarks concerning its own "obscure and barbaric speech."⁷ Clytemnestra's comparison of foreign speech to the chattering of swallows⁸ is paralleled by two passages in Aristophanes.⁹ Not quite clear is the meaning of *βόβοις* as applied to the shouts of the discomfited Persians at Salamis.¹⁰ Certainly it must mean a confused and unintelligible roar, but was it confused and unintelligible because it was the Persian language or because the shouters were frightened?

In Aeschylus' *Supplices* occurs a curious passage.¹¹ The chorus seems to say that the Egyptians use the word *οἰστρος* as a name for the insect which the Greeks call *μύμψ*. But *οἰστρος* is Greek and not Egyptian. Tucker makes the unsatisfactory explanation that in tragedy all foreigners talk Greek.¹² Of course they do; otherwise they would not be understood.¹³ But this is not a case of speaking a foreign language, but merely of telling what

¹*Persae* 182.

²Cf. Herodotus v. 88.

³*Hecuba* 934.

⁴According to Herodotus ii. 158 the Egyptians return the compliment, for they call all who do not speak their language barbarians.

⁵*Phoenissae* 301.

⁶*Bacchae* 159.

⁷*Persae* 635.

⁸*Agamemnon* 1050.

⁹*Aves* 1681; *Ranae* 681.

¹⁰*Persae* 406.

¹¹*Supplices* 308.

¹²Tucker (ed.), *Supplices*, note on l. 308.

¹³But sometimes the characters in tragedy explain the apparent paradox that they speak Greek. Cf. Cassandra (*Agamemnon* 1254). The only cases in ancient drama where a character does not speak Greek or Latin are Aristophanes' *Aves* 1572 ff., *Acharnians* 100 ff., and Plautus *Poenulus* 930 ff. The first two are certainly for comic effect, and probably the latter is.

word the Egyptians use for $\mu\upsilon\psi$.¹ As it stands, the line seems pointless. Perhaps originally it contained the Egyptian word, and $\epsilon\lambda\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, inserted as a marginal gloss, has displaced it.

Dialects, aside from the conventional literary dialects of tragedy, do not appear in the tragedies,² though there is at least one mention of dialect: Orestes instructs Pylades to speak the "speech of Parnassus, imitating the Phocian tongue."³ And it is barely possible that we should assume that the Danaids speak in a dialect, or at least with an accent, for they allude to their barbarous speech.⁴ However, it is more probably a parallel to the passages in the Persae noted above, where the Persians, while speaking Greek, refer to their barbarian tongue.

The Seven against Thebes presents something of a puzzle. The Argive besiegers are said to speak an "alien tongue,"⁵ evidently in contrast with the Thebans who "pour forth the speech of Hellas."⁶ No satisfactory explanation seems possible. Tucker avoids the issue by emending $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega$ to $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\nu\iota$,⁷ which is perhaps the best solution. If we retain the MS $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega$, we must assume a not very clearly expressed allusion to the Theban and Argive dialects. "Argive brevity" is mentioned by Aeschylus.⁸

Closely allied to the question of language is that of racial habits of lamentation and mourning. Aeschylus has a "Cissian wailing-woman,"⁹ a "Mariandynian mourner,"¹⁰ "Mysian wailing,"¹¹ and says that "Adria's daughters shall learn a new way of mourning,"¹² while Euripides describes such demonstrations as "Phrygian,"¹³ or with the more general terms "Asian,"¹⁴ and "barbaric."¹⁵ The "Ionian modes"¹⁶ used in wailing were perhaps modes that the Ionians had learned from the neighboring Mariandynians,

¹Cf. Herodotus' citing of the Phrygian word for "bread" (ii. 2) and the Median word for "dog" (i. 110).

²But Aristophanes has Megarian (Acharniens 729-835), Boeotian (ibid. 860-955), and Laconian (Lysistrata 1076-1296 *passim*).

³Choephoroe 564.

⁴Aeschylus Supplices 118.

⁵Septem 170.

⁶Ibid. 73.

⁷Tucker (ed.), Seven against Thebes, note on l. 154.

⁸Supplices 273.

⁹Persae 123.

¹⁰Ibid. 938; Eustathius (on Dionysius 791) says that Mariandynian mourners were proverbial.

¹¹Persae 1054.

¹²Aeschylus fr. 35.

¹³Bacchae 159.

¹⁴Orestes 1397; Iphigenia Taurica 180.

¹⁵Orestes 1385.

¹⁶Aeschylus Supplices 69.

Mysians, and Cissians.¹ The comment of Tucker is excellent: "The tragedians are fond of referring to, and meanwhile illustrating,² the extravagances of Asiatic professional lamentation, doubtless because of their effectiveness as theatrical³ and because hints of foreign customs were gratifying to Athenian curiosity."⁴

Longing for Far Places

A recurring motif in the tragedies is the expression of a longing to fly to far places. In its simplest and vaguest form no geographical destination is mentioned. The Danaids long to escape to the upper air or to some distant mountain, thus to avoid marriage with the hated sons of Aegyptus,⁵ and Phaedra⁶ and Hermione⁷ yearn to fly to mountain tops. In cases where the destination is more specifically mentioned, it is sometimes merely the uttermost parts of the earth--the Eridanus,⁸ the Hesperides,⁹ or the West--¹⁰and probably reflects the characteristic interest felt for strange and remote regions, the same interest shown in so many passages of the Prometheus.¹¹ At other times some delightful spot such as Cyprus or Macedonia is the object of yearning.¹² A third group of passages reflects the universal desire for home after dwelling in a foreign land.¹³ In an extreme and unimpressive case the chorus longs for wings to fly from Eleusis to Thebes,¹⁴ a distance of about twenty-five miles. This last is probably an attempt on the part of Euripides to use a familiar motif in an inappropriate situation.

Utopia

Aeschylus is the only one of the dramatists who so much as hints at the existence of people who live a Utopian existence. In the Choephoroe he has a vague reference to the Hyperboreans¹⁵ as

¹Cf. Tucker (ed.), Aeschylus' Supplices, note on l. 71.

²E. g., the last hundred lines of the Persae, and the frequent (ll. 117, 122, etc.) use of the Persian throughout the play.

³Cf. Aristotle Poetics 15. 9.

⁴Tucker (ed.), Choephoroe, note on l. 422.

⁵Aeschylus Supplices 777, 792. ⁶Hippolytus 215.

⁷Andromache 848. ⁸Hippolytus 737.

⁹Ibid. 742. ¹⁰Ion 797.

¹¹Cf. infra pp. 62 ff. ¹²Bacchae 402 ff.

¹³Helen 1465 ff.; Iphigenia Taurica 1138 ff.; Ajax 1218.

¹⁴Euripides Supplices 617. ¹⁵Choephoroe 372.

being blest with extreme good fortune, but we must go elsewhere for any description of them.¹ In a fragment he tells about the "Gabians,"² a most just and hospitable people, where neither plow nor mattock touches the earth, and where self-sown fields bring forth bounteous sustenance."³

Catalogs

The first chorus of the Iphigenia Aulidensis might be called the Euripidean Catalog of Ships, resembling as it does the account of the Greek forces in the Iliad.⁵ In substance the two accounts agree generally, but there are several notable differences in treatment: (1) Euripides includes only about half of the Homeric allies; (2) Homer has a single list, each item of which mentions the chieftain and the size of his force, while Euripides has two lists, the first naming the heroes, and the second describing the force sent by each section of Greece; (3) Homer follows geographical order in the naming of the various allies, whereas Euripides follows no discernible order in either list,⁶ nor is the same order followed in both lists. These deviations are probably deliberate on the part of Euripides, and are easily explained.

Homer was preparing the stage for the great concluding scenes of the Trojan War, and the reader--or hearer--needed adequate information concerning the contestants. Being a poet and not a file-clerk, he elaborated his account to include non-essential information, but his main purpose was to catalog. Consequently he made one list include both chieftains and forces, and for clearness followed geographical order. But Euripides had no

¹Pindar Pythian x. 37 ff.; Herodotus iv. 32; Pomponius Mela iii. 5.

²Probably identical with the "Ἀβίαι, whom Homer (Iliad xiii. 6) calls "the most just of men."

³Aeschylus fr. 110.

⁴Iphigenia Aulidensis 164-302.

⁵Iliad ii. 484-785.

⁶In the second Euripidean list (the ships) the maidens imply that they are following the order in which the ships stand on the shore, but aside from the fact that, like Homer's ships on the shore of the Troad (Iliad viii. 224-226; xi. 5-9), those of Achilles and Ajax are at the ends of the line, there is no extant precedent for Euripides' order. Paley (Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, I [1877], 101-102) thinks Euripides imitated a list in the Cypria, and T. W. Allen ("The Euripidean Catalogue of Ships," CR, XV [1901], 346-50) suggests that he may have followed another version of the Iliad.

such obviously practical purpose. He needed subject matter for a lyric passage, but all the material of the Homeric catalog condensed to fit the limits of a choral interlude would be little more than a directory. Furthermore, it was at least desirable that he give some rational excuse to explain the arrival from Chalcis of a group of maidens who had no real interest or concern in the action of the play. Their interest was in the chieftains, whose names and attractions appropriately make up the first half of the passage. Then, perhaps because complete omission of all description of the naval forces seemed too obvious a departure from Homeric precedent, Euripides added the second list. It is entirely in keeping with the character of the Chalcidian maidens and with their purpose in coming to Aulis that they should observe no geographical order in their recital of the heroes and forces.

Practically every section of continental Greece is represented in the Euripidean catalog, as well as several islands: Argos, Mycenae, Elis, Epela, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Aenia, Phthia, Thessaly, Euboea, Salamis, Taphos and the Echinad Isles, Pylos, Ithaca, Syme, and even Crete. The omission, even in so abbreviated an account, of any mention of Sparta seems significant.¹ Indeed, in the entire play, though Menelaus is before the audience throughout a scene of 240 lines,² the word Sparta occurs only once, and that a scornful reference from the lips of Clytemnestra.³ The play was not produced until after the death of the author,⁴ and was, in all probability, written not many years earlier, a circumstance which easily accounts for the ignoring of Sparta, for during those last years of the Peloponnesian War Athenian feeling for the Lacedaemonian state had reached what was probably an all time peak of hostility.

In spite of these minor deviations there seems little doubt that in its broad outlines the passage just discussed was a deliberate imitation of Homer. It could scarcely be a coincidence that Euripides should describe the same forces that make up the Homeric catalog in a manner so similar in many ways to that of Homer. But

¹In fact, unless we accept Markland's emendation of ἀδελφός for the MS Ἀδραστος in l. 268, Menelaus is not included among the leaders; and with the emendation he is merely put along with Agamemnon in the Mycenaean force.

²Iphigenia Aulidensis 303-542.

³Ibid. 1205.

⁴Cf. scholiast on Aristophanes Ranae 67.

in Aeschylus' account of the Persian forces that went against Greece,¹ though the reader is almost inevitably reminded of Homer, the situation and manner of treatment are so different, and the whole passage is so typically Aeschylean with its plethora of sonorous barbarian names, that it is hardly safe to conclude that there is any intentional imitation. Later in the play occurs a sort of echo,² when the messenger, in giving a lengthy account of the leaders who had perished in the battle of Salamis, includes several names from the first list. And the same motif appears for a third time in the chorus's lament for the dead,³ in which some of the same names again occur. We have here all the cumulative mass effect of the Homeric passage, plus the Greek, and especially Aeschylean, delight in barbaric personal and tribal names and in allusion to far parts of the world.

There are several other passages in the tragedies where Homeric influence, though possible, is even less probable than in the Persian catalogs. Again in the Persians Aeschylus lists all the Asiatic dominions of Xerxes,⁴ thus not only impressing the audience with the vastness of the Persian power which had been vanquished at Salamis, but also, as in the catalogs of chieftains and forces in the same play, delighting it with foreign names and geography.

The list of islands under the sway of Darius⁵ at first appears to contain a great deal of information concerning the relative locations of the Aegean islands, but on close examination it proves to be so jumbled as to have no geographical significance, and was probably inserted, like the list of Darius' Asiatic dominions, to impress the audience with the greatness of the vanquished Persian power, as well as to delight Athenian ears with the names of Greek islands which had been freed from Oriental domination.

He divides the islands into two groups: those near the $\pi\rho\omega\nu'$ ἄλιον, and those midway between the two continents. This $\pi\rho\omega\nu'$ ἄλιον, or projecting headland, Prickard thinks perhaps refers to Asia Minor as a whole⁶ and Sidgwick⁷ takes it to be the Troad;⁸

¹Persae 21 ff. ²Ibid. 302 ff. ³Ibid. 967 ff.; 992 ff.

⁴Ibid. 864 ff. ⁵Ibid. 879 ff.

⁶Prickard (ed.), Persae, note on l. 879.

⁷Sidgwick (ed.), Persae, note on l. 879.

⁸The ἄλιον $\pi\rho\omega\nu\alpha$ of line 131 obviously must have a different meaning, but is as much disputed as the $\pi\rho\omega\nu'$ ἄλιον of line

it makes little difference for the interpretation of the present passage, since the islands named in the first group fit neither interpretation. In this group are Lesbos, olive-growing Samos, Chios, Paros, Naxos, Myconos, Andros, neighbor to Tenos. Of these the first three lie near Asia Minor, but Lesbos alone could be considered near the Troad; Naxos, Paros, and Myconos are in the middle Aegean; Andros is separated from Attica by no great expanse of water, and from its close neighbor, Tenos, by a mere strait. In the second group, those lying midway between the continents, are listed Lemnos, Icaria, Rhodes, Cnidos, and the Cyprian cities of Paphos, Soli, and Salamis. This is even more absurd than the first group, for, though Lemnos is almost exactly half way between Greece and Asia, Rhodes and Cnidos are scarcely a stone's throw from Asia, even Icaria is nearer to the Asiatic mainland than are Paros, Naxos, Myconos, Andros, and Tenos, all which five are named in the group of those close to Asia, and, lastly, Cyprus is not even in the Aegean, but nestles in the corner between Cilicia and Palestine. There is only one possible interpretation which will be in keeping with the actual geography: to consider the first ones in each group as belonging to the introductory description, and the others merely thrown in for good measure, so to speak. The passage would then read somewhat as follows:

And the sea-washed islands near Asia Minor, such as Lesbos, olive-planted Samos, Chios; and [another group] Paros, Naxos, Myconos, and Andros that as close neighbor lies adjacent to Tenos. And he held under his sway the sea-girt isles midway between the two continents, Lemnos, and the settlement of Icarus; and [second group] Rhodes and Cnidos; and [third group] the Cyprian cities of Paphos, Soli, and Salamis.

But this interpretation assumes that $\pi\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\ \alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ means Asia Minor, and further assumes a somewhat erratic use of $\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\tau\epsilon$, and $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. All told, considering the general style of the passage and of Aeschylus, it seems very much more probable that he merely listed all the islands he could think of in an order which suited the meter.

Sophocles names the ten competitors in the Delphic chariot race, with the city from which each comes.¹ The main purpose was

879, some taking it to mean the capes at either side of the Hellespont, others as the Hellespont itself, and still others as the bridge of boats. Cf. also G. M. Columba, *Ricerche Storiche* (Palermo: Casa Editrice Trimarchi, 1935), I, 63, n. 4.

¹Electra 680 ff.

probably to add to the glory of Orestes by dwelling at length on the number and prowess of his rivals, but also, whether the author so intended or not, it must have given the audience a pleasant feeling of pride in Greece.

Though the account of the chieftains in the Seven against Thebes¹ is of no geographical significance, it is impossible to ignore its general resemblance to the foregoing passages. Here again we have a catalog and a detailed one. The purpose is much like that of Homer--to give the audience a clear idea of the contestants. Unlike the catalog in the Iphigenia Aulidensis, which has no connection with the action or plot of the play, Aeschylus' description of the champions is a very essential background for the slight action and slender plot of the remaining scenes of the play. A consideration of the epic character of the play in general and of the description of the champions especially tempts one strongly to believe that Aeschylus was perhaps imitating one of the old epic poems of the Theban legend.

Two other passages list cities in Greece, though with no element of military forces involved. Too brief to be called "catalogs," they yet bear some resemblance to the more extensive lists just discussed. In the Troades Euripides mentions Arcadia, Thessaly, Athens, and Sparta as sections of Greece to which the Trojan captives will go.² And in a remarkably similar passage in the Hecuba the captives wonder to what part of Greece their fate will send them:³ to a harbor of Doris (probably the Peloponnesus; certainly not the tiny inland Doris of the fifth century), to Phthia, to Delos, or to Athens. There is little in either passage that calls for comment. Certainly it is more vivid to name various cities to which the captives will or may go than to say prosaically "some to one city, some to another," and doubtless the mention of Athens was pleasing to Athenian ears.

Itineraries

In the Troades the wanderings of Odysseus are foretold by Cassandra,⁴ who says that he will reach Ithaca alone after having seen Charybdis, the Cyclops, Circe, the Lotus Eaters, the sacred cattle of the Sun, and after having visited Hades. This is obviously nothing more than a brief and careless summary of the

¹Septem 375-675.

²Troades 30 ff.

³Hecuba 444 ff. Cf. Iliad vi. 454 ff.

⁴Troades 424 ff.

Homeric account. It is to be noted that several of the most famous adventures of the Homeric poem have been omitted, and that, even though the items are listed in an order far different from that of Homer, the language of the passage in no place implies, through the use of adverb or connective, that the adventures succeeded each other in the order in which they are listed. This is hardly an indication of indifference on the part of Euripides. The first half of the Odyssey is episodic; each adventure is a little story by itself. Furthermore, in the fifth century the poem was more often heard than read, and it was doubtless customary that a "reading" should be some one complete episode, and consequently it is only natural that Euripides and his audience should be much more familiar with the various adventures than with the order in which they followed each other. Then too, the Troades is an emotional poem rather than a well developed play of plot and logical sequence, and Cassandra in this play and elsewhere is represented as a frenzied and inspired prophetess. An orderly summary of the adventures of Odysseus would strike a prosy note and be generally less effective than Euripides' suggestive and not too long list.

A somewhat similar situation presents itself in the Bacchae, where there is what at first looks like a description of the route followed by Dionysus in traveling from Lydia to Thebes.¹ Even a hasty examination of the passage forces one to the conclusion that the author intended to give no such description. The countries in the order named are Lydia, Phrygia, Persia, Bactria, Media, Arabia, Ionia, and Thebes. As a route this is obviously impossible, unless one is willing to assume that Dionysus' itinerary followed a sort of figure-8 course. The list is probably intended to give an impression of the spread of Dionysiac worship and, like the treatment of Odysseus' wanderings, is suggestive rather than scientific. Indeed, in a play like the Troades or the Bacchae a deliberate and logical account of an unimportant matter would be almost as much out of place as would a rapid, suggestive, overdrawn passage in the sober and relentless logic of a play like the Oedipus Rex. To assume that Euripides' knowledge of Asiatic geography was as jumbled as his list of countries is fantastic.

In Aeschylus' account of the retreat of the Persian host² the situation is very different. This is no matter of an old myth,

¹Bacchae 13 ff.

²Persae 480 ff.

but of very recent fact. Many of the audience had fought against the Persians at Salamis, and the memory of the battle was fresh in the minds of all. Nor did the itinerary involve the fabled islands of the western Mediterranean, or even the comparatively unfamiliar districts of Asia Minor, but Greece and Thrace. Moreover, the wanderings of Odysseus are not an important feature of the *Troades*, and Dionysus' journey is a mere passing reference in the *Bacchae*, and consequently the accounts needed to be suitably abbreviated and subordinated. But Aeschylus' historical drama existed chiefly for the purpose of thrilling Athenian ears with descriptions of the battle of Salamis and of the Persian retreat. And so the disastrous retreat is fully and poetically treated according to a scientifically accurate and detailed itinerary.

Aeschylus tells us that the Persians passed through Boeotia, Phocis, and Doris, along the Maliac Gulf, through Achaëa, Thessaly, Magnesia, Macedonia, across the Axios River, past the Lake of Bolbe and Mount Pangaeus in Edonia, across the Strymon River, and through Thrace. A glance at the map will show that the names are all in proper geographical order, with the single exception that the River Strymon must have been crossed before reaching Mount Pangaeus.¹

But it is to be noted that though the main outline of the treatment is in keeping with the facts and the contemporary historical background of the plays, the treatment of details is usually poetic, picturesque, and probably generally imaginary and over-drawn, in keeping with the general emotional character of the play. Grote points out that though the sufferings of the host were doubtless great, they could scarcely have been as great as pictured by Aeschylus, for (1) the march took place in October and November, not long after the harvest, and provisions must have been obtainable; (2) Mardonius maintained a force in Thessaly all winter, and brought it out in fighting condition in the spring; (3) Artabazus, after escorting Xerxes to the Hellespont, kept an army fighting in Thrace throughout the winter; and (4) the account of Herodotus has much less to say of hardships² than has that of

¹The route is generally the same as that given by Herodotus (vii. 113), though there are very few place-names common to the two accounts. It is interesting to note that Herodotus has the Strymon and Mount Pangaeus correctly placed with relation to each other.

²Herodotus vii. 113-120.

Aeschylus.

Excellent evidence of this exaggeration on the part of Aeschylus is his tale that the River Strymon in a single night in November froze so solidly that some of the Persians were able to cross on the ice-bridge. Discussion of the possibility of this phenomenon is endless. Thirlwall accepts Aeschylus' statement as fact,¹ and an American civil engineer told the writer that he had actually witnessed a similar sudden and solid freezing. Rawlinson and Grote both consider it fiction.

But even if the possibility is granted that so large a river could have frozen so solidly in one night, there are still two strong reasons for discrediting the story that the Strymon did so on this particular occasion. In the first place, a bridge of boats had been built across the Strymon when the Persian force crossed the river on its southward march. This bridge had been left under the protection of the garrison of Eion and there is no reference to its destruction before the time of the retreat, though Herodotus does give an alternative story of the retreat, according to which Xerxes and his forces took ship from Eion, and which may possibly be an indication that some sort of unexpected complication was encountered at that place. Secondly--and this seems very strong evidence against the truth of Aeschylus' story--not even in the alternate version just mentioned does Herodotus make any mention of the freezing of the Strymon. Had such a story been current, it is incredible that Herodotus would have ignored it, even had he felt constrained to say that he himself did not believe it.

All the evidence points to the one conclusion--that since the incident itself was a matter of very recent and familiar history, Aeschylus adhered closely to the main outline of the actual retreat; but since he was writing a highly poetic and emotional play, he combined fact with fancy to suit his purpose and add to the effectiveness of the play.

In the light of the three cases just discussed it seems possible to reach a satisfactory answer to the much vexed question concerning the wanderings of Io. Aeschylus has two accounts of the route by which she traveled from Argos to Egypt, and Herodotus says the Persians had a third version, according to which she

¹Connop Thirlwall, A History of Greece (2d ed.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1845), p. 351.

sailed across the Mediterranean.¹

Aeschylus' two accounts agree only in their conclusions. The Prometheus versior contains a sort of "flash-back" which recounts her travels before coming to the scene of Prometheus' torment,² travels which took her to the Molossian plains and Dodona and to the Gulf of Rhea, which was thereafter called the Ionian Sea. There is no account of the route from the Ionian Sea to Scythia; we are told merely that she turned back from the sea and arrived in Scythia, where Prometheus foretells the wanderings that lie before her. The whole prophecy is so fantastic as to defy attempts at fitting it to any map. Io is to follow the strand of the Euxine, keeping the Chalybes on her left, until she comes to the Hybristis River, which she is not to cross before coming to the Caucasus, after which the Amazons will guide her. This all seems possible enough, even though the Chalybes and the Hybristis River are figments of the imagination, but, surprisingly enough, just as we are picturing her well around the eastern end of the Euxine, we find her coming to the Cimmerian Isthmus and the Maeotic Lake, and are told that after crossing the Cimmerian Strait she will be in Asia!³ Next come Gorgonian plains of Cisthene, the gryphons, the one-eyed Arimaspians, and Pluto's stream, all of which resist identification. Then suddenly she comes to the Aethiops River, apparently the Nile, which she is to follow as far as the cataract where the river comes forth from the Bybline Mountains, going up the river apparently for no other purpose than that she may come down it again to the "three-angled Nilotis land," supposedly the Nile delta. The trip ends at Canobus.

The geography of the itinerary given in the Supplices⁴ is as simple and logical as that of the one in the Prometheus is fantastic and impossible. Io first crossed the Bosphorus, apparently the Thracian since the first Asian land she came to was Phrygia. Then she proceeded through Mysia, Lydia, the Cilicians, and the Pamphylians, all in the correct order except that the last two are

¹Herodotus 1. 2.

²Prometheus 707-735, 790-815, 829-841, 846.

³In another passage (fr. 106) Aeschylus calls the Phasis the "mighty common boundary of Europe and Asia" and he may have thought that the Cimmerian Bosphorus was at the mouth of the Phasis.

⁴Aeschylus Supplices 547-64.

interchanged. The "land of Aphrodite that teems with wheat" is difficult of identification.¹ The trip, like that of Prometheus' prophecy, ends at Canobus and Memphis.

Immediately the question presents itself: why did the same poet write these two utterly different accounts of the same journey? Harry answers the question² with simplicity, but, unfortunately, quite unconvincingly. He thinks that Aeschylus had space in the Prometheus to treat only a part of the journey. Such a statement implies that the account in the Prometheus is an abridgement of the one in the Supplices. But the former is more than three times as long as the latter. And, as has already been said, the two itineraries agree only in their final points. In the Prometheus she follows the north shore of the Euxine and crosses the Cimmerian Bosphorus; in the Supplices she crosses the Thracian Bosphorus and traverses the Anatolian peninsula. Certainly she did not circumscribe the Euxine and cross both Bosphoruses.

But let us consider the dramatic setting of each account. In the Supplices the Danaids announce that they are of Argive descent. Pelasgus, finding this hard to believe, asks for an explanation, and an extremely brief summary of the Io story is given in the following lines.³ Then, at the end of the episode, the same story appropriately forms the theme of the choral ode. The treatment in this play is probably the usual conventional myth and gives a satisfactorily logical account of how she crossed the Thracian Bosphorus and Anatolia and came to Egypt and what happened to her after she got there.

But in the Prometheus the situation is very different. It is not necessary to consider here Aeschylus' reasons for introducing the Io episode; the significant thing is that he did introduce it and chose to bring Io before the audience. Since the scene of Prometheus' torture is Scythia, Io obviously must be brought to Scythia. That point granted, the rest is easy: she could not possibly follow the route outlined in the earlier play and go through Scythia; therefore a different route had to be worked out, one which would take her through Scythia and around the Euxine.

But there is another point to consider. Why is the account

¹Tucker (ed.) (Supplices, note to l. 531) thinks it is Phoenicia.

²Harry (ed.), Prometheus, intr., p. 85, n.

³Aeschylus Supplices 274 ff.

in the Supplikes bare of fantastic details, while that in the Prometheus is replete with them? The answer is to be found in the very nature of the two plays. In the Supplikes the setting is Argos, and though the characters are mythological, they are essentially human in their attributes and reactions. The theme is the very human one of a search for refuge from persecution. The whole play is as earthy as the Seven against Thebes. But with the first words of the Prometheus we are transported by the ineffable genius of Aeschylus to the unreal world of the supernatural. We do not merely hear about Io; we see her; we at least think we see the gadfly; it is the realm where a god is tortured by the will of a greater god, and where mountains are rent by the levin of Zeus. The one-eyed Arimaspians, the Gorgons, and the Amazons are not only at home in such a setting; they enrich and vivify it.

Several fragments from the Prometheus Unbound show that the same atmosphere was maintained in that play, and that the device of fantastic itineraries was employed at least twice. The chorus, in describing to Prometheus its journey from Tartarus to Scythia, names the Erythraean Sea, the Aethiopians, and the Phasis;¹ and Prometheus lists the north winds, the Gabians who live without toil in a Utopian land, the Scythians who live on cheese made from mares' milk, and the Ligurians who dwell in a stoneless country, as among the experiences Heracles will encounter in his journey in search of the apples of Hesperides.²

To sum up, it seems that what was probably the usual version of the story of Io's wanderings--the version that took her through Anatolia--was suited to Aeschylus' needs in the Supplikes but since the Anatolian route did not take her through Scythia, he had to invent a new version which did--or possibly utilize an already existing alternate version; and that he included in the description of this journey which took her through Scythia various mystic and fantastic experiences in keeping with the atmosphere of the Prometheus.

Three other journeys are briefly described in a few lines each. Menelaus says that after leaving Troy he saw Nauplius' lights on Euboea [the southern promontory of Euboea³], visited

¹Aeschylus frs. 104, 105, 106, 191, 192.

²Aeschylus frs. 109, 110, 111, 112.

³Cf. Propertius v. l. 115, and scholiast on Orestes 432.

Crete, Libyan cities, and Perseus' heights [the western boundary of the Nile Delta¹].² This is all logical enough and needs no comment.

Menoecus is to go from Thebes to Dodona by way of Delphi, Astolia, and Thesprotia,³ a simple and direct route.

Rhesus' trip from Thrace to Troy is not quite so obvious.⁴ To begin with he must have passed through or near Scythia before coming to the Euxine, for the Scythians attacked him. If we picture Scythia as extending well along the western end of the Euxine, it is quite possible that Rhesus found it convenient to cross a corner of it; but Herodotus makes the Danube the western boundary of the Scythians.⁵ Then he crossed the "sea-mouth" and came to Troy. The passage is so lacking in detail that it is impossible to decide whether or not the author had a clear idea of the route he was describing. Nor is it possible to decide what is meant by the "sea-mouth." Was it the Euxine, and did Rhesus land on the north shore of Asia Minor and come overland to Troy? Or was it the Bosphorus? If so, why is there no mention of the Euxine? He could not have crossed Scythia if his journey had been all overland except for the crossing of the Bosphorus. Or was "sea-mouth" used loosely for the Euxine and the Bosphorus? The last is satisfactory geographically, but is certainly a strange meaning for the word.

The chorus of the Phoenissae presents something of a problem.⁶ These young Phoenician maidens announce in Thebes that they are on their way from Tyre to Delphi and have crossed the Ionian Sea. It is entirely understandable that they might have chosen to travel around the Peloponnesus and through the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Corinth rather than to make the overland trip from the eastern coast of Greece, but why, in that event, should they have sailed past Delphi, which is not more than five miles from the coast, and have landed, as Pearson thinks, at Creusis,⁷ in order to travel overland to Thebes, which is miles off any direct route from the gulf coast to Delphi? The alternative seems to be to assume that the "Ionian Sea" mentioned is the sea along the

¹Herodotus ii. 15.

²Helen 765 ff. ³Phoenissae 980 ff.

⁴Rhesus 432 ff.

⁵Herodotus iv. 49, 99.

⁶Euripides Phoenissae 208 ff.

⁷A. C. Pearson (ed.), Euripides' Phoenissae (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1909), note on l. 208.

Ionian coast of Asia Minor and that the maidens stopped in Thebes in the course of the trip overland from eastern Greece to Delphi. But we are distinctly told that they traveled with a west wind blowing from the Sicilian Sea. The solution seems to hinge on the interpretation of ἑλάνη (line 208). If they used oars because the winds were contrary, then the "Ionian Sea" may well have been the eastern Aegean, but if ἑλάνη is merely tragic periphrasis for "by boat," it is necessary to assume that they sailed through the sea we know as the Ionian and through the Gulf of Corinth, thus having a favorable wind for at least the last part of the voyage, and for reasons known only to Euripides chose to make the long detour by way of Thebes.¹

While not an "itinerary" in the ordinary sense of the word, the famous and much discussed beacon telegraph of the Agamemnon² should be considered in this connection. Aeschylus gives the eight stations of the beacon signal as follows: Mount Ida in the Troad, Mount Hermaios in the Troad, Mount Athos in Chalcidice, Mount Macistos in Euboea, Mount Messapios and Mount Cithaeron in Boeotia, Mount Aegiplanctos in Megara, and Mount Arachnaeos in Argolis. These all occur in good geographic sequence, and there is in no case any intervening mountain to obstruct the view. The only difficulty is raised by the question whether or not a beacon flare could be seen over the distance intervening after each of the first three stations. From Ida to Hermaios is about fifty miles, from Hermaios to Athos about the same distance, and from Athos to Macistos more than twice as far. Each of the other intervals is considerably less than fifty miles. Calder has gone into the matter very thoroughly, and has shown that it is entirely possible for a beacon light to be seen from a point fifty miles away.² But he thinks a hundred miles is too far, and that a line has fallen out which originally specified another station between Athos and Macistos.

¹Cf. John U. Powell (ed.), The Phoenissae of Euripides (London: Constable & Company, Ltd., 1911), note to l. 204, where the editor agrees substantially with the conclusions here drawn. Ludwig Radermacher ("Observationum et lectionum variarum specimen," Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie, CLI [1895], 236) tries to avoid the difficulty by contending that φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου refers not to Tyre but to Carthage, but his explanation leaves unsolved the question of why the maidens should have gone from the Gulf of Corinth to Delphi by way of Thebes. Cf. also K. Preisendanz, "Die Heimat der Phönissen des Euripides," Rheinisches Museum, LXVII (1912), 631-37.

²W. M. Calder, "Geography of the Beacon Passage in the Agamemnon," CR, XXXVI (1922), 155-59.

Such an assumption is hardly necessary. The Greeks were not realists. Probably neither Aeschylus nor his audience knew or cared whether a beacon could be seen from fifty miles away or not, nor is it likely that after the play they performed experiments to test the probability of Aeschylus' scheme of communication. It was in the selection of the stations that he needed to use care, and did use it. The nearer stations were familiar to the Athenians, many of whom probably knew whether the view from one to the other was unhindered. To err in the plausible selection of mountains would have been ludicrous and have spoiled the effect of the incident. The story is not history, but a myth; and though mythological mountains habitually occupy the same sites as the corresponding historical ones, there was no more necessity for scientific accuracy in regard to the brightness of mythological fires than there is in regard to the possibility of the Eumenides and the ghosts of Darius and Clytemnestra--and of Hamlet's father--being visible to the audience. Just as in the case of the retreating Persians, Aeschylus' good judgment told him where he needed to stick to fact and plausibility, and where he might let his fancy play more freely.

